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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1943

TWO LEADERS OF ASIA

K. M. PANIKKAR

DURING a recent journey abroad I have had occasion to meet some very remarkable men from Allied countries—national leaders, statesmen, poets and thinkers, men who would rank high not only in their own countries, but have an assured place in international life. But among all of them two men stand out prominently in my mind, not only by the massive character of their intellect and achievement, but their vigorous personalities which have shaped the course of national evolution of their people, President Manuel Quezon, the Liberator of the Philippines and Dr. Hu Shih, the father of Chinese renaissance. In any list of six names of the most distinguished Asiatics now living, these two will find an undoubted place.

They have one thing in common. Their leadership is not exclusively for their countries, nor their appeal solely for their people. They are in truth leaders of Asia. Though Manuel Quezon is the President of the Philippine Commonwealth and Hu Shih has only recently retired from the difficult task of representing his country at Washington, their outlook is not circumscribed by narrow geographical considerations. Both think in terms of the future of Asia in a world commonwealth. Both are profoundly interested in the political evolution of other Asiatic countries.

This common Asiatic outlook apart, there is hardly any common ground between the two. Hu Shih, philosopher, humanist and scholar, justly known as the Erasmus of China, is a politician only by the compelling circumstances of his country's life and death struggle. President Quezon on the other hand is a born fighter, a great soldier and general of freedom, one who not merely lead the movement for Philippine independence but achieved that freedom and lived to organise it. If Hu Shih is a Chinese Erasmus, Quezon is a Philippino combination of Mazzini and Cavour.

For over two decades Hu Shih has been the most outstanding figure in the world of Chinese letters and thought. The range and depth of his thought can be judged from the fact that he is not only the leading authority of Confucian thought but is also a profound student of Buddhism and European philosophy, and an internationally recognised authority on the interplay of civilisation. More than any other single individual he could claim to have moulded the mind of modern China. In essence his message has been an assertion of the true spirit of Confucian China. His call to his people has been to shed the vain metaphysical speculations of Mahayana Buddhism and to go back to the secular system of the earlier teachers. The interpretation of the ancient thought of China in terms of modern life has been the object of his philosophical work as a teacher and prophet of modern China. As an active leader of opinion his work has been mainly directed towards the organisation of society on a modern and purposive basis. The great obstacle to such a modernisation as he visualises has been the Indian influence on Chinese life. "The Indianisation of China" has according to him, led to results which have undermined the humane basis of Chinese life, which can be re-organised to suit the conditions of the modern world only by a re-statement of the genuinely national thought of China.

To infer from this that Dr. Hu Shih does not appreciate the thought, culture and civilisation of India would be entirely wrong. What he emphasises, and I think rightly, is that the superimposition of an alien culture, which in some respects—*e.g.*, the establishment of numerous monasteries with a large priesthood living on alms—was unsuitable to China, did not in fact lead to a proper synthesis of thought, but to an unfortunate devaluation of what was truly great in the national life and civilisation of China.

Among the numerous achievements of Dr. Hu Shih there is one which always interested me as of special importance to India. That is his famous declaration of Literary Independence. Till quite recently Chinese language and literature were dominated by the stilted classical style of the mandarins, weighted heavily by numerous quotations from classics and allusions to earlier poets, meant more to convey the scholarship of the writer than as a living medium of expression. At one stroke Hu Shih changed this. His clarion call to replace this scholastic language by the simple and direct expression of the common folk had immediate effect. By this single act of courage and vision he created a powerful instrument of national unification.

When I arrived in New York last December Hu Shih had just retired from his post as Chinese Ambassador in America and was living

the quiet life of a scholar. 'I took an early opportunity of getting into touch with him. In discussions with him I discovered that the range of his mind was something exceptional. His one question to me to which he reverted time after time was "why is it that India did not receive anything of any value from China? It seems to have been at all times a one way traffic." Though China is India's neighbour and received liberally from her, neither printing nor paper, nor any of the other great inventions of China penetrated into India. Even Chinese silk reached the Indian market through indirect routes. Neither porcelain nor Chinese art found any appreciation in India. More than all this, while scholars through the length and breadth of China were studying the sacred books brought from India, writings of the Chinese sages do not seem to have penetrated even to University circles. Why was it all a one-way traffic? Surely India would have gained greatly if the material civilisation of China, not to speak of her great contribution to thought had come to India by a fairer interchange. To this question I had no reply. The wide currency that Indian stories has obtained in China was a subject of great interest to him. In his learned introduction to Arthur Waley's translation of the Chinese novel entitled "The Monkey" Hu Shih draws attention to the influence of Hanuman mythology in the medieval stories of China.

Our discussions were by no means confined to the byeways of scholarship. Dr. Hu Shih is profoundly interested in the new developments in Hindu social life and generally in the political problem of India. Essentially the Indian question, as he frankly stated, is one of organising the people of India into one purposive community ridding it of the accretion of ages by way of social customs and usages.

The future of Asia he visualises as a great commonwealth based on the co-operation of Asiatic peoples, especially China, India and in course of time a non-militarist and peaceful Japan. He is optimistic enough to look forward to a period of co-operation between the three great peoples for the welfare of Asia and the millions it holds.

President Quezon's approach to the question is different. It can best be understood in terms of his own unique achievements.

Manuel Quezon is undoubtedly one of the greatest political figures of Asia. For over a quarter of a century he has been the accredited leader of his people, fighting their battles, leading them through troubles and tribulations and finally negotiating the treaty which established the Philippine Commonwealth. He is now its first elected President. Few national leaders of our time have had such a political career of outstanding success. Starting as a political agitator in a subject

country, in twenty years he became the President of a free republic in alliance with the United States.

Manuel Quezon's career as a national leader began in 1917. The date is a significant one in the history of Oriental nationalism. It was in the same year that the personality of Gandhiji was coming to the forefront in India. It was at the same time that Zaghlul was being acclaimed as the national leader in Egypt.

In 1917 the Philippinos were going through a regime of repression under General Wood. The policy of co-operation which Osmena had advocated and which had achieved a measure of success under the liberal regime of Governor-General Harrison no longer received the support of the younger generation. Osmena's leadership was challenged by the young Filippino party which found a leader in Manuel Quezon. From 1917 he has been the unquestioned head of the nationalist movement of his country.

Short, stocky, with handsome Malay features Senor Quezon is an Oriental, proud of his race and his people. He is also a product of the West, a happy combination of Spanish and American culture, with the outlook of one belonging to a world civilisation, a prototype of what a true and free union between the East and the West can produce. A fervent patriot he thinks in terms of Asia and of Asiatic co-operation with the West.

His personal magnetism is something which evokes unquestioned loyalty. You had to be only a few minutes with him to realise that you were in the presence of a really great man, one who will have a great part to play in shaping the future of the new world. In his conversations with me I found that his understanding of the Indian problem was clear and he stated his views without hesitation. "We have had the same problems, the same attitudes to face and therefore I am in a position to understand your difficulties," he declared. As the head of a State he could not give public expression to his views but President Quezon as a nationalist and leader of his people is following the events in India with the greatest interest and the fullest understanding.

It is my firm belief that the Filippinos, an Oriental people with a European and Christian civilisation, with their race rooted deeply in the East and their culture rooted by three hundred years of contact with the West has a great part to play in the Asia of the future. To the modernisation of Asia it has a great contribution to make. Under the leadership of President Quezon it will play a most notable rôle in the remaking of a new Asia.

SARMAD AND HIS QUATRAINS

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SARMAD was born in Kāshān[1] of Jewish parents and was brought up as a rabbi. Muḥammad Sa'īdā seems to have been his name after his conversion to Islam, to which he was probably led by a careful study of the old Testaments, etc. His *nom-de-plume* was Gūya[2] (eloquent).

The year of his conversion is not recorded by his biographers. But it may be fixed some time after A.H. 1057/1647 A.D., when the author of the Dabistān, Mirzā Muḥsin Fānī, met him at Hyderabad[3] (Sind) and according to him Sarmad was probably still a Jew.

We do not come across any reference in detail regarding his family connection or his early career in the *Tadhkiras* which contain short notices about him.

It seems that he was well-versed in Muslim sciences then prevalent in his land, and also in Jewish Scriptures. Amongst his teachers mention may be made of Mullā Ṣadrā of Shirāz,[4] Mīr Abu'l Qāsim Qandarskī, Mīr Bāqir Dāmād,[5] and other scholars of the day.

He came to India (Sind) by boat, set up as a trader at the town of Thatta in Sind in 1042/1632 on the bank of the Indus, where his fortunes improved, and he passed his days in peace and comfort.

It was here that he contracted close friendship with a bania's (grocer's) lad, Abhay Chand by name. This was the prologue to the drama he was to play in his after-career. Love began to dominate over him. He abondoned his business, gave up all clothing and thenceforth lived in *partibus naturalibus* and developed peculiar opinions.

He composed the following verse in praise of his beloved:

[6] I do not know if in the old spherical monastery (world)
My God is Abhay Chand or any other beside him.

[1] The author of the Mirāt-ul-Khayāl (p. 140) says that he belonged to "Firingistan" and was an Armenian:

اصلش از فرنگستان است و ارمنی بود

[2] Tadhkira-i-Nasrābādī, Part I, p. 310.

[3] Dabistān, p. 296.

[4] Mulla Ṣadrā was a Persian theologian and philosopher of the Safa-wid period. He was the son of a governor of Fars and owed his epithet to his superior merit.....Ṣadrā restored the teachings of Avicenna. He died in Basra in 1052/1642 (Ency. of Islam, Vol. IV, p. 50).

[5] Mir Bāqir Dāmād was a native of Astrabād in Persia.....He resided for many years in Ispahan, and is the author of several compilations, one of which is called 'Ofuq-ul-Mobīn.' He died in 1040/1630 (Beale. p. 185).

[6] نمی دانم درین چرخ کهن دیر خدای من ابهی چنداست یا غیر

The following verse by Abhay Chand is also quoted here regarding their intimate connection :

"As I am a follower of the Furqān (Qurān), so am I a priest or monk,
I am a rabbi of the Jew, an infidel and a Musalman."[1]

This lad in return showed attchment towards Sarmad, and read with him the Pentateuch and the Psalms. He had also a poetic gift. The Persian version of the opening chapter of the Genesis made by Abhay Chand is incorporated in the Dabistān under the title "Book of Adam." The influence of love cannot but be over-estimated.

Sarmad, who through love of the Ephemeral had attained to love of the Real, attracted Abhay towards himself, who could not but be spell-bound under the magnetic power of the former. He left his parents, cast everything away and became a votary at the altar of 'love divine,' which manifested itself through Sarmad.

From Thatta they came to Lahore. But the year of their arrival in this city is not mentioned by biographers. Nawwāb M'utamid Khān writes :

"When the retinue of his majesty (Emperor Shāh Jahān) turned their reins to the metropolis of Lahore from the garden of eternal spring of Kashmere, I, the writer, having traced the whereabouts of Sarmad, met him in a garden. He was bare-footed, and devoid of clothing, stark-naked, reciting verses mostly coherent and sometimes incoherent, and his beloved sitting with an old wrapper wrapped round him. He was comely in appearance, talked well in Persian and had poetic bent."[2]

This chief does not mention the date of his visit to Sarmad. It appears from the account of his journey to Kasmere that he passed through Lahore four times, namely, in 1043/1633, 1049/1639, 1054/1644, and 1060/1650.

As Sarmad was in Sind in 1042/1632, Nawwāb M'utamid Khān could not have met him in that year. The date of the meeting between the two might be fixed either in 1043 or 1050 or 1055 or 1061 (*i.e.*, in any one of the years of his return journey).

Mirzā Muḥsin Fānī, the author of the Dabistān, also met Sarmad in 1057/1647 in Hayderābād (Sind) as mentioned above.

It is related that he came to Delhi with his beloved from Lahore during the reign of Shāh Jahān, but the year of their arrival here too is not known.

[1] هم مطیع فرقانم، هم گبش و رهبانم ربی یهودانم، کافرم، مسلمانم

[2] Ma'ārif, Dec. 1927, p. 460.

Price Dārā Shikoh (d. 1069) was very much inclined towards saints and sannyasis. Niccolao Manucci in his "Storia Do Mogor" writes: "Dara held no religion, when with Muhammadans, he praised the tenets of Muḥammad, when with Jews, the Jewish religion; in the same way, when with Hindus, he praised Hinduism. This is why Aurangzeb styled him a Kafir (Infidel). At the same time, he had great delight in talking to the Jesuit Fathers on religion and making them dispute with his learned Muhammadans, or with Cermad (Sarmad), an atheist much liked by the prince. This man went always naked, except when he appeared in the presence of the prince, when he contented himself with a piece of cloth at his waist."

Mullā Shāh[1] was the spiritual guide of Dārā, whom he initiated in the Qādirī order in 1049/1639-40. Dārā Shikoh became enamoured of Sarmad, and being associated with him[2] became his pupil too. He used to visit him frequently. It is difficult to ascertain how long Sarmad resided in the metropolis, and whether he had any house or hut of his own. Darā Shikoh brought to the notice of Shāh Jahān a report regarding the miraculous gifts of Sarmad.[2]

The wise emperor deputed 'Ināyat Khān, one of the officials of the court, to ascertain the real fact[3] about this *faqīr*. Ināyat Khān visited the naked saint, and while reporting, recited this couplet:

"To ascribe miracles to naked Sarmad is to accuse him! The only miracle (Kashf) which is visible, is the nudity (Kashf) of his private parts."[3]

On hearing this report, the emperor observed: "Let the mouth of the people be sown or sealed with one yard of cotton."[4]

It appears that Sarmad originally imbibed love of the ephemeral ('Ishq-i-majāzī) but finally attaind to real love ('Ishq-i-ḥaqīqī) leading to truth, a fact which is supported by the author of the Khazinatul-Aṣfīyā,[5] who rightly observes: "He remained a captive in the claws of love of the Ephemeral, which finally changed into love of the Real," according to the saying, 'The phenomenal is the bridge to the real.'[6]

Aurangzeb, who represented orthodox Islam and wanted to do away with the wrong practices and innovations that had crept into religion due

[1] He was a native of Badakhsān. He was a disciple of Mian Shāh Mīr of Lahore, and Murshid or spiritual guide of Dārā, who rightly respected him and visited him on his tour to Kashmere where Mullā Shāh had built a palace for residence. He died at Kashmere about the year 1660 A.D.

[2] Mirat-ul-Khayāl, p. 142.

[3] The original runs thus:

بـز سرمد برهنـه کـرامات تهمت است * کشفی که ظاهر است از و کشف عورت است

[4] به یک گز کرباس دهان خلق باید دوخت

[5] Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfia, Vol. I, p. 352.

[6] المجاز قنطرة الحقيقة

to the laxity of his grand-father and great-grand father, could not so easily spare Sarmad. He ascended the throne in 1069/1659. Dārā was beheaded the same year. Sarmad was suspected of secret allegiance to the cause of Dārā.

Sarmad had already attained popularity as a Ṣufī, a theist, rather a Ḥallājian.[1] Aurangzeb wanted to put an end to him. But he must find some pretext to accomplish this design. He, therefore, deputed mullā 'Abdul Qawī, a scholar of repute and *Panj-haẓārī*, with the title of 'Itimād Khan, to direct Sarmad to cover his nakedness. The Mullā addressed him: "Sarmad, why do you remain naked?" Sarmad gave a witty but sarcastic reply, "*Shaitān Qawist*,"[2] *i.e.*, "Satan is powerful" and recited the following:

"A lonely height (figure) has made me so low!
A two-cupped charming eye has taken me out of hand,
He is at my arm-pit and I in quest of him,
A wondrous thief has made me naked."

This was not sufficient. Sarmad was called before a council of the 'Ulamā. They questioned him about the meaning of this quatrain:

"He who was helped by the secret of truth! and was himself wider than the whole spheres! The Mullā says, 'Ahmad ascended to heaven!' Sarmad says, 'Heaven descended to Ahmad,' which appeared to the orthodox to question the heavenly ascent of the Prophet.

They further asked him to recite the cardinal formula of Islam, "There is no god but Allah." This was a move to corner Sarmad. Aurangzeb had heard that Sarmad never uttered the complete formula. To this Sarmad replied, "I have not as yet passed from the stage of negation. How can I state a thing which is not true with me? So, I recite only, 'There in no god.'"

At this the 'Ulamā pronounced him a heretic and they issued *Fatwa* for his execution. Aurangzeb sent for him and asked him if it were true that he had promised the kingdom of Delhi to Dārā. "Yes," Sarmad replied, "I promised him the eternal kingdom."[3]

They asked Sarmad to discontinue his practice of uttering the incomplete portion of the cardinal formula of Islamic faith. But he could not but stick to it. He was so filled with divine love that to him the king,

[1] A follower of Manṣūr-i'-Ḥallāj, a Ṣūfi of eminence, who died in 922 A.D.
[2] There is a pun on the word, *Qawī*. It was the pen-name of Abdul Qawī. This reply enraged the Mullā.
[3] Carr-Stephen, Monumental Remains of Delhi, p. 256.

the executioner, the whole universe were the same. He was a thorough-going pantheist and had no consciousness of his being that had merged into divinity. Next day he was taken to the execution-ground, followed by the masses.

When the executioner, a low-caste man of the sweeper class, came forward with a naked sword, and according to custom wanted to cover the eyes of Sarmad, the latter did not allow it. It is said that he recited some twenty-four impromptus on this occasion. He simply smiled, and when he faced the executioner, he uttered:

"The friend with the naked sword has arrived,
In whatever disguise thou mayst come, I recognise thee."

One Shāh Asadullah, who was one of Sarmad's companions, went to Sarmad and told him: "Do cover your nakedness and utter the creed in full, and you would be let off."

Sarmad looked up, said nothing in reply and uttered:

"It is a long time since the fame of Mansur has become an ancient relic,
I will display myself anew on the gallows and cord."[1]

He then placed his head under the sword and was executed. This happened in 1070/1660-1661 or in 1072,[2] in the 9th year of Aurangzeb's reign.

Sarmad lies buried below the Eastern Gate of the Juma' Masjid in Delhi. His tomb is the resort of all and sundry, and offerings of flowers and lighted candles are made over it.

On hearing of the death of Sarmad, Bernier observed: "I was for a long time disgusted with a celebrated Fakir, named Sarmad, who walked in the streets of Delhi as naked as he came to the world. He despised equally the threats and the persuations of Aurangzeb, and underwent at length the punishment of decapitation for his obstinate refusal to put on his wearing apparel."

His Quatrains

His poems mainly, if not wholly, consist of quatrains that have come down to us. The quatrains have been lithographed in India and are easily available.

[1] عمریست که آوازهٔ منصور کہن شد * من از سرنو جلوه دهم دار و رسن را

[2] Natā'ijul-Afkār, p. 219.

P. C. Bac
28/5/48

The Rubā'īyyāt edited by Maulawī Md. Ishāq (Aḥmadia Press, De a copy of which has been preserved in the Buhār section, Imperial Lib Calcutta, contains 237 quatrains.

Another edition of the same appeared under the title of the Jawāl Manẓūm. It was versified in Urdu by Sayyid Nawwāb 'Alī Sa of Lucknow, and published by Munshī Qurbān 'Ali Bismil, wit introduction by Mawlānā Abu'l Kalām Azād. It has 321 quatrains.

Rieu mentions that more than 400 quatrains are preserved i British Museum.

I translate here a few of his quatrains, quoted by Fānī[1] in his l which will give an insight into his poetry:

(*i*) As for Sarmad, they intoxicated him with the cup of love,
They uplifted him, and made him low!
He wanted divine worship and sensibility
They made him intoxicated and an idol-worshippper.

(*ii*) That being is not beyond (the range of) the azure-dome!
It is a relative being, which is nothing but absolute.
Truth is not falsehood, falsehood is not truth,
That being is not but the source of every derivation.

(*iii*) O, thou art a big circle about the pivot of the heavenly throne
Hundreds like spheres are in thy service.
Turn the evening of me the traveller into noon!
If thou touch the threshold of the pole like noon.

Sarmad calls himself a follower of Ḥāfiẓ in Ghazal, and of 'Um Khayyām in Rubāi', as the undermentioned will show:

I have nothing to do with others' thoughts.
In Ghazal I follow Ḥāfiẓ;
In Rubāi' I follow Khayyām.
But I do not drink so much of his wine.

Munshī Qurbān 'Alī Bismil has also published 28 letters, appar attributed to Sarmad. He states in the Preface that he got the M this series from his friend Md. Ikrām-ullah 'Iyāḍ Siddiqī of Panipat present for publishing it, which he did in 1926. These letters and ep are concise, a bit subtle but full of Ṣūfistic ideas. These are address persons associated with Sarmad. For want of space it is not possib give their translation here.

[1] Dabistān, p. 299.

P. C. Bose
26/5/48

of our population has become fattened by this war, though in varied proportions, and a great curtailment of their purchasing power is urgently needed. They are now the most potential buyers, as the fixed income class has already tightened its belt to the necessary limit.

(3) Next the author goes on to make a distinction between expansion of currency and its inflation and defines the present case as expansion, because "Our issue is fully covered by sterling, the purchasing power of which has not so far depreciated." Here also we agree with him. But this does not mean that there cannot take place any inflation under such circumstances. No doubt, our expansion of currency has taken place due to our continuous favourable balance of trade during these war years and this, as the author puts it, would have also been the case if our currencies were backed by gold or dollar. In the latter case, we would not have hesitated to call it inflation. if such a drastic and rapid depreciation of our notes had taken place. But the fact of the matter is that under normal conditions when the currency is backed by gold, this sort of huge and continuous balance of trade in favour of a country cannot go on for a very long time. Rise of prices in the country due to favourable balance brings an automatic adjustment in its balance of trade and further expansion of currency is either arrested or even reduced. Under abnormal circumstances, such as war, imports of the country may not increase *pari passu* with the prices, due to the difficulties in shipping and transportation. But then again, had our currency been backed by gold instead of sterling, it would not have been possible for England to pay us such a huge amount of the metal and naturally she would have been forced to curtail her purchases in India ; and this excessive balance of trade in favour of India being thereby reduced, the expansion of currency leading gradually to inflation could not have taken place. Here, on the other hand, the Government of India are issuing paper against paper and hence there is no check either on England's side or on the side of our own Government. Therefore, inflation is inevitable, unless strong anti-inflationary measures are adopted. This was a peculiar drawback of linking the rupee with sterling in 1931, which then passed unnoticed.

If our favourable balance of trade were mitigated by our import of gold, even then, the author says, it would not have been possible to check the expansion of currency ; for since 1931, the table has turned and "instead of hoarding gold and silver India has been selling and exporting them." Here the argument of the author is very hazy and unconvincing. The rise in the price of gold since 1931 was due to an external factor and hence it was exported, while the rise now is mostly due to an internal factor (*i.e.*, hoarding, etc.) and this internal changing of hands would surely not require

the Government to expand the currency. The real fact is that we are clamouring at present to change our sterling balances in terms of gold or dollar not as a remedy for inflation, but as a more stable standard of value.

(4) Now we shall attempt to analyse his arguments when he goes to show that the expansion of currency has not affected the prices. He admits that the production in India has not increased "to any appreciable extent" and argues that the present rise in prices is only due to the additional demand created by the Government for Defence purposes. But if that is so, then what function on earth are these additional 450 crores of rupees doing? To deny its effects on prices, unless it is assumed that all this money has been hoarded away, is to deny the very essence of the Quantity Theory of Money. The truth of the fact, however is that the increased demand on the part of the Government has, no doubt, raised the prices of the commodities, owing to the limitation of their supply, but at the same time the huge expansion of currency is pushing the prices constantly to a higher and still higher limit. No doubt, the reduction of the note circulation from 590 crores to 179 crores, would not mean more cloth, more food, more salt, more kerosene, more cement or more wood, as the author puts it, but at the same time he forgets that this reduction will certainly reduce the prices of those commodities, and thus effecting hoarding as unprofitable, make them available to the common people. The author cannot make out how taxation and heavy borrowings "will eliminate the distressful sight of queues waiting for hours before grain shops to get a few seers of wheat." The reason is, however, not very far to seek. This pathetic sight of queues is not due to the shortage of food grains alone, but it is mostly due to the hoardings by businessmen as well as by the public. When the Government would stop expansion or take away the money in effective circulation, the cause of hoarding would also vanish and there would no longer be any flight from the currency. People do not hoard so much for high prices as in the apprehension of it, and it is the duty of the Government to nullify this apprehension. This predominance of a psychological factor in inflation has been made explicit by Keynes when he states that "what concerns the use of money in retail transactions of daily life is the rate of depreciation rather than an absolute amount of depreciation with some earlier date." The check in the drastic expansion of currency will also relieve the India Government *cum* H.M.G. from paying higher and higher prices, leading to more and more expansion of currency, for the same amount of their demand.

(5) Then the author deviates to a different topic and introduce a novel method of calculating the velocity of the circulation of currency and

shows that the velocity has tremendously gone down in recent months. Hence the author thinks that his thesis is proved, because "money can secure goods and raise their price only if it is used for payments. So far it has not been used, at least by the private consumer, to the extent which its volume seems to suggest." The author takes the example of the velocity of bank deposits and since it has greatly gone down inspite of the increase of deposits in the banks, he readily concludes that the velocity of currency must have also gone down.

Years.	Demand Liabilities of Scheduled Banks.	Total clearing House Returns.	No. of Times.
1938-39.	123·8	1929	15·6
1939-40.	132·6	2211	16·7
1941-42.	202·0	2569	12·7
1942-43. (First 8 months).	333·0	1635	4·9

So he concludes that in 1939-40 when the issue of currency was Rs. 179 crores, in all they must have functioned as (179×16·7—the velocity of bank-deposits) = Rs. 2989·3 crores. In 1942-43, inspite of the increase of currency like that of bank-deposits, the velocity (of bank deposits) having gone down, they have done the work of (590×5) = Rs. 2950 crores only.

The correlation which the author presupposes between the velocity of bank deposits and that of the currency is not olny arbitrary but also fallacious. This decrease in the velocity of bank money rather proves that there must have been an increase, on the other hand, in the velocity of currency. This is because, the reduction in the velocity to bank money means a stagnant position of our industrial and commercial activities, and this being so, the influx of currency into the market from the Reserve Bank's vault implies a rise in prices, which in its turn, leads to a flight from the currency. This flight, in other words, simply means that the rapidity of circulation has increased. This is actually the picture of what is happening in India today and everyday it is on its way to increase. Further, the author himself states that the credit has greatly ceased to play its part and "most of the buying and selling is now done on a cash basis." This, again implies that the velocity of currency circulation must have gone up very high (*cf.* The Cambridge Equation of the Quantity Theory of Money).

(6) Then the writer tries to show that a considerable withdrawal of silver rupees has been carried out, thus reducing the effective circulation of currency. In his zeal, the author goes so far as to conclude readily

that there has also taken place a hoarding of notes. It is a new thing indeed. We have heard enough of the gold hoardings and silver hoardings in our study of the Indian currency system. But now we hear also about the hoarding of paper notes, particularly at the time when they are depreciating daily.

(7) Lastly, the author has introduced the prices of a list of commodities, mainly foodstuffs and raw materials and has tried to show from a comparison of their price-trends with the successive amounts of notes in circulation, that the rise in prices had little to do with the currency expansion. By this he has spoilt his case very effectively. This sort of comparison is of no use where there is an element of price control, though it might have been greatly ineffective. The writer has tried to prove that only the prices of those commodities that commanded the Government demand have risen greatly, irrespective of the currency expansion ; and in this category, he includes wheat, rice and cloth. The currency between October, 1939 and October, 1942 has expanded by about 148 per cent., and the rise in prices of wheat, rice and cloth during this period has been 97 per cent., 100 per cent. and 179 per cent., respectively. But what about the price of kerosene which rose by 174·5 per cent. during this period ? Then again, sugar also is of no less importance than wheat, rice or cloth to the Government. Still its price rose by 12 per cent. only. The real truth about this is that the degree of rise in the price of a certain commodity depended upon the efficiency of the price controlling machinery over that commodity. A suitable example in this respect is that of sugar, where the price control has been more successful and, hence it has no risen to the same extent as the cotton cloth, over which there is no such control. Moreover, prices of foodstuffs and cloth have risen more because along with the Government's demand for it, these are also the immediate necessities of the people at large ; whereas, cotton, groundnut cake, etc., being not such essential commodities, their prices have not increased to the same extent.

This price list has done one more good to us. People might have still looked to the present high prices and inflation with a little sympathy, being guided by the idea that the agriculturists, who were almost on the verge of bankruptcy during the great depression, are now being benefited by the high prices of their commodities. The figures in the price list itself show that the rise in the prices of foodstuffs and raw materials has been far less than the rise in the prices of other essential commodities, such as cloth, kerosene, etc. And this is the reason why inspite of the higher agricultural prices, the standard of living of these 70 per cent. of the population has not increased. The agricultur-

ists cannot hold up their produce for long and hence they have to sell it within a limited period of time at whatever price it fetches. On the other hand, the essential things which they purchase are disrupted by the present dislocation and difficulties in transport facilities, and further, they have to pay the black market price, which is more prevalent in rural areas than in the big towns. The last depression brought about an alignment or a severe disruption of the costs-prices equilibrium, and in this war, so far as the agriculturists are concerned, it is still the same, though in a different way.

Thus, all the arguments of the author fall flat in the face of a critical analysis. The broad day light fact of inflation in its 'naked' form is there and no jugglery of arguments can now conceal the truth. The late Sir James Taylor similarly confused the issues when in his speech at the last Shareholders' meeting of the Reserve Bank, he denied the very fact of inflation and considered the high prices as an "unavoidable result of the large purchases of goods and services" by the Government. Inflation begins everywhere at first by this abnormal demand on the part of the Government. It started due to the same reason in most of the European countries during the last war, and that classical hyper-inflation in Germany was also, at its infancy, similarly nourished and brought up by the heavy demand on the part of the German Government. This war has benefited mainly the big industrialists and businessmen and also those few fortunate men who are concerned with the business of military contracts. But it has had a blighting economic influence upon the agriculturists, the *rentiers* (as the interest rates have not increased), the fixed income group and also the wage-earners (as the prevailing rates of dearness allowance are too low to be considered).

There is no one-way remedy for this inflation. This 'hydra-headed monster' should be attacked on all fronts. After liquidating all the foreign investments in India, our steadily increasing sterling balances should be sterilized, as was done in the case of gold by the U.S.A. Government. This would check the rapid expansion of our currency. At the same time three great campaigns should be carried out in India, namely, (1) the curtailment of the purchasing power of the public through loans and taxes; (2) the reduction of purchases in India by his Majesty's Government; and lastly, (3) the mobilisation of all the resources of the country for more and more production. A little elaboration of the implication that is involved in the curtailment of purchasing power through loans and taxes seems to be necessary, as it has been misunderstood even by many of the experts. If the proceeds of the taxes and loans are again spent out immediately by the Government to meet their

day to day war expenditure and purchases, the effect of contraction is nullified. Hence the withdrawal of money through Defence loans and Treasury Bills by the Government of India has not produced any sort of contraction of the currency. This intricacy of the problem was misunderstood by Sir Chunilal B. Mehta when he was trying to disprove the fact of the present monetary inflation, while presiding over the 32nd Annual meeting of the Bombay Shroffs' (Bankers') Association in January last. In his opinion, the rise of Rs. 215 crores in bank deposits, the withdrawal by Government of Rs. 130 crores through Defence loans and the remaining through Treasury Bills accounted for a total withdrawl of Rs. 410 crores out of the then increase of Rs. 450 crores in the circulation of money. A more conspicuous contradiction has been made by Mr. C. N. Vakil in his booklet, "The Falling Rupee," where he writes that the "Repatriation of debt followed by new rupee loans is anti-inflationary in its effects" (p. 7, 2nd edition), while at the same time he admits in the next page that "Rupee loans were, however, issued to meet the revenue deficits due to war expenditure by the Government of India," and also "to provide the rupee finance in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government". (p. 7). So what is required is to set aside such extra money as a separate reserve and to repay it when the depression sets in during the post-war years. The fundamental idea of these extra loans and taxes is not to meet the war demand but to achieve the contraction of currency and this implication of the matter should be properly realised. The present poor contribution for the Defence loans, already floated, may raise doubts in the minds of some people about the feasibility of further loans to bring the necessary contraction. For this, however, the Bank Rate and consequently the Interest rates should be raised above the present level. The idea of this *three per cent. war* should be revised by the Indian Government, according to the prevailing monetary condition, otherwise, this cheap money policy will cost heavy to the public, as well as to the Government. As regards further taxation, the country's sentiments may run against it. No doubt, the burden of taxation has already reached very high limits, but it should be at the same time remembered that inflation is a far heavier type of taxation and perhaps the easiest way for the Government to delude the public. In this case, as Keynes has explicitly stated in his "Tract on Monetary Reform," "The burden of the tax is well spread, cannot be evaded, costs nothing to collect, and falls, in a rough sort of way, in proportion to the wealth of the victim." We do not, of course, agree with this last proposition of Keynes. We believe, on the other hand, that the incidence of *inflation-tax* falls heavier on the people having

smaller income and hence it is a regressive form of taxation; but any way, this discussion is out of our scope here. It is true that there is no ethical or economic ground to exact almost all the surplus incomes of the richer class through taxation, for this may produce a psychological effect against any sort of productive activity in the country. But as mentioned above, if the proceeds of the additional taxation and loans are not spent away to meet the ever-increasing demand of the Government at war and are set aside with a guarantee of paying them back with the interest accrued to them in the post-war period, we do not find any reason for resentment on the part of those tax-payers. One may regard this as a type of the "compulsory savings scheme" of Keynes, if one is annoyed with the term, taxation.

It may be argued by some people that as, unlike in England and the United States, our richer group consists of a negligible portion of the whole population of the country, the reduction in its purchasing power would not bring any effective decrease in the total demand for consumable goods. The socio-economic justification for the temporary curtailment of the purchasing power of the upper class during war, however, is that it will also bring a corresponding reduction in the standard of living of the lower middle class or the people belonging to other classes. This reduction of the purchasing power will bring in a psychological change in the outlook of the different strata of the society and people's emotion will be guided by the *look shabby and be proud* slogan. This is a process which should initiate from above and should gradually come down to the lower strata; the reason being that in the society there is always an unconscious effort on the part of a particular class to adopt the standard of living of its next higher class, and this explains why no class is ever satisfied with its own economic or pecuniary condition. Every businessman should remember the statement made by Rai Bahadur Rameshwar Prasad Bagla, in the course of his presidential address at the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce, held recently at Cawnpore, where he has observed that "The duty of businessman in India is not to look at things from the point of view of enormous profits they are making at present, which is only an illusory fortune at the cost of a great damage done to the country." Anyway, our conclusion is that if more and more unnecessary currency comes into the market from the "printing press," there is no way out, but to take them away and to turn them barren and ineffective. The greatest danger of inflation is still a-head. But the bell has rung and the time has come to put forth our every effort to fight this monster and thus to save ourselves from the threatening crisis.

MARKETING OF JUTE

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THE intense crisis in the supply of food has for the time being withdrawn popular attention from the problem of jute in this province. In fact food crisis has been so overwhelming that to write of jute at this moment may appear a bit out of place. But although for the time being overshadowed, the jute problem has an importance of its own and requires constant attention on our part.

So far, the Government of Bengal has taken only one definite step by way of ensuring a fair price to the growers of jute. This step was taken in the shape of the Jute Regulation Act under which the acreage under jute would be determined from year to year by the Government in the light of the possible demand for raw jute in the Indian as well as the world market. It is to be emphasised that this step is not by itself an effective guarantee of a fair price which the growers should expect for their produce. First of all it should be by now known to everybody that it has not been possible yet for the Government to estimate accurately in any year the demand for jute in the following season. Consequently determination of acreage has never been properly adjusted to this demand. Inspite of compulsory restriction of jute acreage, the supply of raw jute has in fact been always greater than the demand, with the concomitant depression in the price level.

Secondly, it should be emphasised that the Government has found it intensely difficult if not impossible to withstand the influence of the vested interests, which demands an increase in jute acreage so as to take advantage of a larger supply. Thirdly, the mill-owners and other purchasers of raw jute have always some stock in hand. Whether this stock is large or small, it is difficult to estimate. But in any event they have sufficient stock in hand so that for six months at least they may run their concerns without purchasing fresh jute. In view of this it never becomes necessary for these purchasers to rush into the market. Even in case they find that the supply in the market is not very large, they do not show any eagerness and enthusiasm to purchase at once. The result is that the growers who are not in a position to hold out for long

cannot take advantage of their restricted supply. In fact they themselves have to show eagerness to sell, with the result that they secure only very small compensation for the money they have invested and the labour they have expended.

So, while the Government should do their very best to estimate the possible demand for jute in the world market as correctly as possible and adjust jute acreage to this demand, it is essential that definite steps must be taken without delay by way of introducing better marketing facilities and increasing thereby the holding power of the growers. At present the system of marketing is very crude, uneconomic and subversive of the interests of the growers. There is a chain of middle men and the jute produce passes through several hands before reaching either the mill-owners or the *pucca* balers.

The first link in this chain of middle men is the *foria*. He does business on a very small scale. He visits the villages and buys jute from the growers who may not be in a position to take their produce to any important centre of jute trade. The *foria* in his turn sells his purchases to the *bepary* who has greater capital at his disposal and does business on a comparatively large scale. The *bepary* in his turn has his dealings with the *cutcha* balers or the agents of the mill-owners in some important jute centres. The *beparies* also purchase on behalf of the *aratdars* of loose jute in Calcutta. In any event jute reaches Calcutta after passing through three or more hands.

There are, of course, here and there deviations from the arrangement which has been described above. But it presents a rough picture of the marketing system in jute in this province. It should be known that many of the jute-growers take *dadan* or advance from the *forias*, who also in their turn take similar advances from the *beparies*. These advances are not unoften made on the condition of selling jute when it becomes ready at a particular price. This is one of the reasons, though a minor one, for the depression which hangs about the jute market even when the demand is high and the supply is not over much.

As a result of the existence of a chain of middle men the discrepancy between the price at which the growers have to sell and the price at which the mills or the shippers have to purchase becomes considerable. In Appendix VI of the Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee 1938-39 we find that the difference is sometimes as much as Rs. 2 per maund. In other words in the absence of a better machinery of marketing, the growers lose per maund to the extent of Rs. 2. This is a situation which calls for a speedy remedy. The growers again lose not only because of the profit which the *forias*, *beparies* and other

middle men happen to make out of their purchases, but in other ways as well. For instance when a cultivator sells his jute to a middle man, he has to give something extra in addition to the maund of jute already weighed. This extra which amounts to two seers and sometimes more is variously known. Now and again it is no doubt argued that the growers, at the time of sale, supply wet jute which, when dried, becomes less in weight. Consequently the extra is regarded as justifiable. But the enquiries so far held tell us that in many cases such extra cannot be justified at all and is the result of a custom which places the growers at a disadvantage and should as such be abolished. The weights also vary from place to place and in that way also the unsophisticated among the peasants are not unoften hoodwinked and cheated.

When the growers sell their jute, there is no opportunity of a scientific determination of its quality. In fact grading of jute is determined even at the final stage in a very crude and unscientific manner. The result is that even by supplying jute of the finest quality and the best variety, the growers secure only the average price. This is an injustice which also calls for remedy. But the helplessness of the growers consists most in their utter inability to hold their stock for long. We have already seen that in some cases they have taken advances from the middle men and are consequently required to sell as soon as jute is ready. Secondly, their necessity is pressing and on this ground just to make both ends meet they have to sell at the first opportunity. Thirdly, even those growers who are comparatively well off have no godowns where they could keep their jute in safety against fire, theft and ravages of nature. So they also have to sell without waiting for the market to rise in their favour. In this connection it should also be emphasised that many of the growers are rather in the dark as to the price of jute ruling in the Calcutta market. Consequently without knowing the exact position of the demand, they fall into the trammels of the middle men and feel obliged to sell cheap.

That this is a state of things which cries urgently for reform and remedy has been admitted in all circles. Not that no suggestions have been made and no discussions have been held in this regard. In fact such discussions have been protracted for nearly a decade and a half. But it is a tragedy that after such prolonged debate nothing definite has yet been done by way of creating a scientific machinery of marketing jute in this country. Mr. A. P. McDoughall submitted to the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee a scheme of marketing under which a Jute Control Corporation would be set up. But he provided for the representation in this Corporation of local mills, shippers and balers

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and also provided for the decision of the Corporation being made by majority of votes. These mills, shippers and balers being the purchasers of jute, the organisation proposed by Mr. McDoughall would not have been in any way helpful to the growers. On the contrary it would have placed them at the mercy of these purchasers. That such a scheme was seriously proposed and pushed was by itself significant. It showed that interested parties were more than unwilling to go in for the right solution of the problem of jute marketing in India.

In 1932 the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce suggested to the Finlow Committee that the task of handling the entire jute crop should be entrusted to one organisation, which would buy the crop from the cultivators and sell it at a fair price to the mills, balers and shippers. The Chamber in making this suggestion was aware of the financial difficulties which such an organisation would be required to face and further it was aware of the other difficulties this body would have to get over. But it thought at the time that the execution of every big and comprehensive scheme would involve such difficulties. Consequently they must be faced boldly and got over by necessary efforts. Six years later, however, the Chamber evidently changed its mind and became impressed by the impossibility of removing the obstacles in the way of making such an organisation successful both financially and otherwise. Accordingly in its evidence before the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee of 1938-39 it pointed out that it was very doubtful if the constitution of any such organisation as had been referred to in 1932 would be financially feasible. In fact the Chamber now placed all the emphasis only upon the establishment of regulated markets and licensed ware-houses throughout the province.

While the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce which is the accredited mouthpiece of Bengal industry and trade came to the conclusion that an attempt to solve the marketing problem of jute by the institution of a corporate organisation would very likely prove abortive, there were others who still continued to be enthusiastic for the exploitation of this means. A scheme for a Central Buying and Selling Organisation for the control of the marketing of the entire jute crop of Bengal was submitted to the Jute Enquiry Committee of 1938-39 by several witnesses. According to the scheme this monopolistic concern would have a capital of at least 10 crores of rupees, the principal and interest of which would be guaranteed by the Government. The organisation would have branches in all jute growing areas. These branch societies would have ware-houses of their own and an arrangement for assorting the fibre according to its quality. The jute grown in a locality would be

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purchased after proper assortment and kept in the ware-house, the growers receiving at once about 75 per cent. of the price fixed by the organisation. The defects of the scheme were many. Although they were not as great as those of McDoughall's scheme, still they were sufficiently great and the Jute Enquiry Committee did not countenance the proposal. It also emphasised only the establishment of licensed ware-houses which would, in its opinion, help the cultivators most in solving the marketing problem.

If any Central Organisation is to be set up for the purpose of marketing jute, the first principle to be observed in respect of its constitution is that it should be established with the exclusive purpose of safeguarding the interests of the growers. The consumers of raw jute, like the mill-owners or *puccá* balers, cannot claim any representation on this body. We do not of course mean that the consumers of raw jute should be left to the mercy of a monopolistic concern. But such a danger does not appear to exist. By looking after the true interests of the growers, such a body will have to consider automatically the interests of the mill-owners and the balers as well. It cannot for instance raise the price of jute *ad infinitum*. Because by doing any such mad thing, it would only bring substitutes into the market and thereby stop or at least considerably lessen the demand for jute. So interests of the consumers are automatically safeguarded. They can be given any voice in a central marketing machinery only to the detriment of the interests of the growers and not for safeguarding their own.

The question then arises if any Central Corporation, run as a profit-making concern with or without the Government control, can be really of great help to the growers. We are counting upon it that the mill-owners or the shippers will have no share in this concern. Even then this body will look mostly to the welfare of its share-holders and will be goaded thereby to neglect the interests of the growers. Let us assume that the Government will intervene in respect of price, in respect of the assortment of quality and in respect of the advances to be made to the growers. Even then we are not certain if this body will give satisfaction to the cultivators as their marketing organisation. In fact it is very likely that this concern will become a powerful vested interest and will so manipulate things as to raise suspicion in the public mind in regard to the determination of price and other things.

Apart from the defects which have been discussed above, a Central Marketing Organisation will be otherwise difficult to set up. We have to make an arrangement for the purchase of at least one hundred lakhs of bales of jute, in other words of five crore maunds. If the price of jute

is to be fixed even at the modest figure of Rs. 8 per maund and if 75 per cent. of it is to be paid at once on deposit, the company will be required to disburse an amount of thirty crores of rupees during the two months of August and September. Consequently to get sufficient facilities from banks the company will be required to command considerable financial strength. It would not be very easy to secure so huge a capital for such a concern. Besides it should also be known that a commercial corporation like this will have to set up branches in at least every *thana* of the jute growing districts. A private commercial organisation with such huge capital at its command and with such a large number of branches in different parts of the province will certainly exercise a dangerous influence not only on the economic but also on the political life of the province. This is a factor which should on no account be ignored.

In the face of the selfish system of buying by the mill-owners and balers and the helpless condition of the growers engendered by this practice, the establishment of a Central Marketing Body which would buy the entire jute crop at a reasonable pre-determined price and then sell it to the mill-owners and others, would have been the right remedy for the existing ills. We have seen above that such a marketing body run on a profit-making and private capitalistic basis might not only be difficult to set up, but, even if brought into being, it might become as a remedy more dangerous than the disease. The question now is if by any other method and on any other basis such a machinery may be created. There are some who are inclined to the view that the Government may make itself responsible for the purchase of all raw jute, for its assortment according to quality, for warehousing all this produce, for making part payment to the growers immediately after purchase and ultimately for the disposal of this jute by selling it to the mill-owners and shippers. But such an undertaking on the part of the Government will involve a financial responsibility which it may be too difficult for it to discharge.

It of course stands to reason that the co-operative machinery for the purchase and sale of jute may be so strengthened as to make it the only means of such transactions in the province. For several years in the twenties a vigorous attempt was made in this direction. But the attempt, though it showed much promise, ultimately proved a failure. It cannot, however, be said that such a failure was entirely due to any inherent defect in the organisation. Extraneous causes were largely responsible for the failure. The Finlow Committee reporting in 1934 appreciated this fact and pointed out that the failure of the jute sale societies was no valid argument that efforts should not be made again on co-operative lines for the purchase and sale of jute.

There are however, many in this province who are very sceptical about the development of the co-operative method on efficient lines for the solution of the problem of marketing. We admit that they are not altogether unreasonable in this pessimism about the development of co-operation. People in this province have not so far evinced the proper co-operative spirit and necessary enthusiasm and capacity for co-operative organisation. A co-operative institution here succeeds only if there is prompt, vigorous, and rigid supervision of the Government agency. Where and when such supervision has been lax and inefficient, a co-operative body has languished and even died out. The movement has in fact failed up till now to throw up leadership on right lines from within. In view of this it is not unlikely that many people will feel shy in recommending the organisation of a far-reaching net-work in this province on co-operative basis for the purchase and sale of jute. But even while there is ample ground for such pessimism there is necessity for fresh efforts for the development of a co-operative machinery in regard to jute. Nor need we be altogether hopeless in regard to its prospects. So far virtually nothing has been done either by the Government or by any non-official agency to inculcate the principles of co-operation in the rural population of Bengal. Such inculcation should be undertaken in a vigorous manner without delay. This is not the occasion when this subject may be further pursued. But it seems that if this work is undertaken in the proper manner by people with imagination and vision, co-operative principles may become part and parcel of our rural life. In fact the best way in which the Government may assist the growers in the marketing of their produce consists in organised efforts in co-operative direction.

Meanwhile, it is imperative that regulated markets should be set up in sufficient number with necessary arrangement not only for grading but for proper warehousing. For over a decade the Government has been approached to this end. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce brought home to the Finlow Committee the urgent necessity of establishing organised markets for jute in Bengal on the same lines as cotton markets in Berar. The Finlow Committee agreed with the Chamber in this point of view and recommended the establishment of regulated markets. But this recommendation went completely unheeded. Not even experimental markets at a few centres were constituted. In 1936 the Indian Central Jute Committee was established. Many of those who had advocated the constitution of this body had demanded for it necessary powers to organise under its own supervision and control regulated markets in this province. But the Committee, when set up, was not given any such authority. It was definitely meant to be an advisory body, only

to make recommendations and offer advice in regard to the different aspects of jute trade and industry to the Central and Provincial Governments.

Even as an advisory body the Indian Central Jute Committee was expected by the public to render effective services in regard to the organisation of the jute trade and industry on a basis in which such organisation might be particularly helpful to the growers and generally useful to the province as a whole. But the hopes entertained about the Committee have been so far belied. It should be known that the constitution of this Committee had been suggested by the Royal Commission on Agriculture as early as 1928. But for eight years no action was taken in this regard by the Government of India. It virtually sat tight upon the proposal. It was only in 1936 that the Indian Central Jute Committee was established as an advisory body. For more than six years it has now been at work. We cannot, however, say that the Committee has yet made itself very useful to the public. Highly paid European technicians and experts were associated with this Committee but nothing tangible has been done so far by this body either for the improvement of technique in regard to the manufacture of jute goods and for discovering new uses for jute or for the improvement of the marketing of raw jute in this country. In fact apart from some laboratory experiments and some field surveys, the Indian Central Jute Committee has no work to its credit. These experiments and surveys have been, it may be repeated, of very little practical use so far to the growers, manufacturers and the public. In fact the work of the Committee has proceeded up till now on the same lines and has been as barren of tangible results as the work of many other technical departments of the Governments in this country.

In the first Annual Report of the Indian Central Jute Committee, published in 1938, we find no doubt that it made recommendations to the Government of Bengal for the establishment of two regulated markets, one at Hajiganj and the other at Sheorafuli. But the Government of Bengal did not act up to the recommendations. We do not know exactly the reasons why no action was taken. But evidently only two such markets would have been of little use so far as the vast body of growers was concerned. These markets to be really serviceable should be organised according to a plan in different parts of the province. They should be adequate in number and properly equipped with the necessary paraphernalia.

After this the Indian Central Jute Committee undertook through its own staff a survey as to the marketing organisation of raw jute and jute products. The two reports in this connection were published in 1939 and

in 1941. But the results of these surveys as contained in these reports give only a picture of the existing marketing machinery of raw jute and a description of the methods followed in the manufacture of jute products in the mills. So far as the first report is concerned, there is little in it which was not already known. As for the second report, it may convey some information to the lay public as to the processes of manufacture but otherwise it is not very stimulating. These reports which contained only existing facts might have been of some use if on the basis of the information they collected a new and a more useful machinery could be recommended. But the Committee has not so far done anything of the kind. In 1939 and 1940 the Committee discussed a scheme for the stabilisation of the jute market and a proposal for stabilising the price of raw jute at Rs. 10 per md. The scheme provided for the realisation of a surcharge from all mill-owners and exporters for such stabilisation. But the vested interests which are so securely entrenched in power in the Committee ridiculed the proposal and opposed the creation of the stabilisation fund. The scheme therefore fell through. In fact from the proceedings of the meetings of the Indian Central Jute Committee it appears that unless the constitution of this body is radically changed there is absolutely no hope of its recommending any proposal which would be really helpful to the jute growers and the general public.

As soon as the problem of food which has now become so acute is solved, the Government should proceed to organise regulated markets, particularly for jute, in all important jute centres so that the growers may not have any difficulty in disposing of their produce in the proper manner. In every such market there should be not only a well constructed godown for jute deposit but it should have the services of an expert who may properly evaluate the quality of jute so deposited. It is also essential that the weight should be uniform in all the regulated markets. In this connection there is the necessity of legislation. The majority of members of the Finlow Committee were doubtful as to the effectiveness of any law providing for standardised weights and measures. They referred to the dropping of a proposal for legislation to this end in 1913. They in fact were of the view that public opinion moved so slow that any legislation providing for uniformity might go unheeded. But the Jute Enquiry Committee of 1938-39 did not take so pessimistic a view. Besides, so far as the regulated markets are concerned there would be no difficulty in making the growers conform to a uniform weight. In view of this, Government legislation should be undertaken without delay.

Along with the establishment of regulated markets the Government should see to it that arrangements for the grading of jute are made on a

proper basis. All attempts so far made in this connection have proved abortive. It is necessary that this problem should be solved without further delay. The system of grading should be such as to be easily intelligible to the growers and to be easily worked in practice. The Government should also see to it that pending the fixation of minimum price for jute necessary arrangements are made for publishing the Calcutta prices in the regulated markets. This is an essential preliminary to satisfactory transactions in the mufassil.

THE PRESENT WAR AND THE PROBLEM OF COTTON PIECE GOODS IN INDIA

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FOOD and cloth are the most important necessaries of life. If one desire to live in a civilised society, one must feed and clothe oneself. Of these two necessaries of life, we shall direct our attention first to the problem of clothing. Today public feeling on the subject of abnormal cloth prices is rising higher and higher. Prices have trebled and in some cases have become four times. This abnormal price has been telling very adversely on the middle class people and on the poorer section of the community. Let us analyse the economic factors responsible for this abnormal rise in cloth prices. Before the out-break of the present war, the production of Indian mills went almost to satisfy civilian demands within the country, export of Indian cotton manufactures having been inconsiderable.

The present position of cotton piece goods is best explained by the following figures. (Taken from a report published by Behar Chamber of Commerce, 1st January, 1943.)

SUPPLIES	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
		(In million yards)			
Mill production of India.	4269·2	4012·5	4269·5	4493·6	3900·0
Imports	672·9	579·1	447·0	181·3	50·0
Total supplies	4942·1	4591·6	4716·5	4674·9	3950·0
DEMAND					
Exports ...	307·7	359·0	554·6	985·6	1200·0
Purchase by Supply Department.	...	300·0	600·0	1000·0	1200·0
Supplies not available for civilian consumption.	307·7	659·0	1154·6	1985·6	2400·0
Net supplies available for civilian consumption.	4634·4	3932·6	3561·9	2689·3	1550·0

The figures quoted above speak for cloth shortage in India while the total consumption of piece goods in India is just over 6000 million yards for civil population.

The out-break of the World War has brought about the following important developments:—

(1) Import of foreign cloth has markedly fallen.

(2) Export of Indian cotton manufacture has increased.

(3) The mills have been obtaining orders from the Government for supply of various kinds of military requirements of cotton textiles. Government orders for cloth are handled by a non-official body of industrialists who distribute orders among all mills in India, regard being had to the technical equipments available in each case and the desirability of each unit being made to place a fixed minimum percentage of its machinery on Government war work, thus releasing a portion of the mill machinery to accept civilian orders.

Consequently the cotton Industry in India has been called upon to meet exceptional demands (*i*) an additional 500 million yards for the home market owing to small imports from the United Kingdom and Japan; (*ii*) more than 1200 million yards to the Supply Department for war supplies; (*iii*) 1200 million yards for additional export to empire countries and the allies necessitated by economic as well as political considerations. The Supply Department orders increased from 600 million yards in 1940-41 to 1200 million yards owing to Japan entering the war. And there is every possibility of these requirements mounting to a much larger figure in the near future.

In this connection it will not be out of place if we try to give an account of the steps taken by the cotton mill-industry in India to meet the situation. To meet the additional requirements, the first step taken by the industry was to increase production by working double and, in some cases treble shifts. This necessitated not only the employment of a very large body of additional workers, but also the establishment of new mills equipped with new plants and machinery and extension of machinery in the existing mills. An all-round improvement in the progress of the Indian cotton mill-industry is disclosed by the annual mill statement for the year ending in 31st August, 1942, published by the Mill-owners' Association, Bombay.

The number of fully equipped mills rose from 390 in 1940 to 396 and the paid up capital from Rs. 44·78 crores to Rs. 46·49 crores. The number of spindles installed increased from 9,961,178 in 1940 to 10,026,425 in 1941 and the number of looms from 200,076 to 200,200. The quantity of cotton consumed was substantially higher at 23,70,000

candies as against 21,2600 candies. The average number of hands employed per day was up from 20,942 to 480,447. It may be interesting to note, in this connection, that, in all respects, the figures quoted above are the highest recorded in the history of the Indian cotton mill-industry so far, the only exception being looms.

The cost of production :—Inspite of all-round development in cotton mill-industry prices are soaring high. Factors leading to a rise in the price of cloth include all items which add to the cost of production. Apart from the fact that there has been a phenomenal increase in the prices of cotton, chemical dyes, mill-stores, machine parts, fuel, labour charge and cost of transportation, certain machinery, machine parts, machine tools, chemicals and dyes are strictly rationed and reserved for Government. Heavy taxation in various forms, *e.g.*, Income Tax, Super Tax, Surcharge, Excess Profits Tax, War Risk Insurance, Sales Tax and other direct and indirect Taxes which consume over 80 p.c. of the profits, is inevitably reflected on the prices.

The last but not the least important factor leading to a rise in the prices of cloth is expansion of currency in war time. This expansion has resulted in inflation which is reflected on the prices. If this state of things is allowed to continue, it will worsen the situation.

Keen anxiety over the serious shortage of cloth and the consequent abnormal rise in the prices which is causing great hardship to the masses of the country is expressed by all from different quarters. The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce, in course of its communication to the Government of India, expressed its keen anxiety over the problem and recommended some measures which would have to be taken to meet the situation : (1) Embargo on export of cloth till enough stocks are available in the country for meeting the local requirements. (2) Whenever possible, cotton textiles should be substituted by jute or other fibres, thereby enabling the military authorities to consume less cloth than at present. (3) Raising the production of cotton goods both by the mills and the hand-loom weavers. (4) Switching over, as far as it is technically possible, the production of such categories of cloth as are commonly used by the poor and the middle classes, from those used by the richer classes of people. (5) Inauguration of a campaign forthwith for " use less cloth " on the one hand and " produce more cloth " on the other hand. Many of us are in agreement with the above suggestions.

As regards exports, it is doubtful whether there can be a complete stoppage though these have been already drastically curtailed, because there will still appear to be leakages in the system of export control. In the Central Legislative Assembly, during its current session in the course

of a debate on a resolution moved by the member urging " the prohibition of the export of textile goods from India till such time as the needs of the people of the country were fully met with ; " Mr. T. S. Pillai, Joint Secretary, Commerce Department, explained on behalf of the Government that there was no case for total prohibition of export of cloth. He pointed out, in that connection, that India had been fighting a common war and she should help other allied nations as they were helping India in several other matters. We endorse the view put forward by the spokesman of the Government. But we are strongly opposed to the present system of export, because it seems to have no well-conceived plan or well-defined purpose and it seems to have been breeding speculation in and " black markets " for export licences. Hence, it is imperative that export should be organised in such a manner that it would put an end to the large-scale profiteering that seems to be going on at present.

The Government of India has shown much concern for the poor who have been affected by the abnormal rise in cloth prices. A scheme was evolved by the special Sub-Committee of the Cotton Textile Advisory Panel which met in Bombay in the first week of December in 1942 under the Chairmanship of the then Commerce Member for the production and distribution of " standard Cloth." After a great discussion, an agreement has been made between the Government of India and the Millowners' Association for the production of " Standard Cloth." It has been agreed by the Millowners that 30 p.c. of the productive capacity of their mills would be devoted to it. At present it has been proposed to manufacture only 50 million yards which is but a drop in the vast ocean. In this connection it may be mentioned that 70 p.c. of the Provinces and many Indian States showed their indifference to the standard cloth scheme from its very inception. This is why some difficulties were envisaged in the way of standard cloth. The main difficulty arose on the question of production and distribution of standard cloth. The Madras Government opposed the scheme as it would adversely affect the hand-loom weavers of the Madras Presidency. The Bombay Government showed indifference to the scheme on the question of distribution of standard cloth. Indian states, for instance Travancore and Hyderabad, do not seem to be anxious to join the Central Government scheme. Hence a scheme with an all-India basis including British provinces and Native States is needed to make a workable scheme for the production and distribution of standard cloth at reasonable price.

We associate ourselves with the views put forward by the Government of India regarding the production and distribution of standard cloth. We appreciate the action of the Government of India as it booked orders

for the supply of a certain quantity of cloth. We should not be optimistic about the scheme of standard cloth, because the scheme, even if it becomes workable, will not be able to clothe even the poorest section of the community. Even though the production of standard cloth reaches up to 30 p.c. of the productive capacity of the cotton mill industry in India, it may be estimated that the existing mills unless extended or enlarged, shall not be able to produce more than 1200 million yards, while total civilian consumption is approximately 6000 million yards. It was stated that the prices for standard cloth would be fixed by the Government and for that the Central Government proposed to establish a Price-Equalisation Fund to enable the price of cloth to be maintained over a specific period. This fund would be created by charging dealers a fee not exceeding 5 p.c. of the price charged by a mill for standard cloth. The main purpose of this proposal was that the consumer of standard cloth would be asked to pay 5 p.c. extra from the very beginning to provide a cover against any possible sharp rise in the price of that commodity at a future date on account of rise in the cost of production caused by higher costs of labour and raw materials which remain uncontrolled. This proposal was criticised by a section of textile interest on the ground that it would tend to defeat the main issue underlying the production of standard cloth, namely, provision of cloth at the cheapest possible rate. It is difficult to express an opinion on it. We are certain that it will provoke critisism from different quarters. Even though the price is fixed by the Government, it will not reach the purchasing capacity of the Indian masses which is very low. Hence the standard cloth scheme will hardly be able to clothe the Indian masses.

We do not intend to enter into a controversy. Every Indian, irrespective of caste and creed, desires to clothe himself. For that a well-devised plan should be formulated with an all-India perspective with a view to restoring equilibrium between demand for and supply of cotton piece goods though normal equilibrium is not possible under the present abnormal conditions. Economists, industrialists and business men may offer various suggestions. Many of us believe that the solution of the present problem of cotton piece goods lies in the following measures which should be adopted after taking into full consideration both the demand for, and the supply of cotton goods. In the former case

(1) there should be launched a nation-wide campaign forthwith for "waste not and use less cloth";

(2) there should be less export till the country's requirements are met with and the machinery for export control should be well-organized so that there can be no chance of large scale profiteering;

(3) substitution of cotton textiles by jute and other fibers, whenever possible, should be encouraged.

On the supply side, (4) there should be extensive development of hand-loom weaving industry using hand-spun yarn. This industry is not new one in India though it is in decaying condition. Under the present war conditions if every home in India makes it a principle that it should spin every day for certain number of hours, we believe that its members will not remain unclothed. This proposal may effectively help poorer section which constitues the major portion of the Indian population ;

(5) Millowners should be called upon to raise production both under short-period and long-period conditions, but they should produce more under the short-period condition, because due to immense difficulties, such as difficulty of securing short new plants and machinery for newly started mills, the capitalists in India naturely lack eagerness in new enterprises lest they should have to be wound up owing to foreign competition after the war.

We belive that, if some measures on the above-mentioned lines are taken from now, the problem of shortage of cloth may be solved though the restoration of normal equilibrium may not be possible, because inspite of our best efforts there will always remain some shortage of cloth under the abnormal conditions that prevail now.

AN ASSAMESE VERSION OF NĀRĀYAṆDEVA'S PADMĀPURĀṆ

(A Short Note)

BIRINCUI KUMAR BARUA

The University of Calcutta published sometime ago Nārāyaṇdeva's *Padmāpurāṇa* The book is edited by Dr. T. C. Das Gupta and is compiled from two manuscripts found in Bengal. Since the publication of the late Dr. D. C. Sen's monumental work on the Bengali Language and Literature, an interesting controversy is going on about the date and the nationality of Nārāyaṇdeva, but so far no satisfactory conclusions have been arrived at. It appears that Dr. Das Gupta has also not been able to close the controversy. Like other critics, the present editor of the Padmāpurāṇ totally ignores the persistent tradition which has been current in Assam and which tells us that Nārāyaṇdeva was a poet of Kāmarūpa. The late Rai Bahadur K. L. Baruā took notice of this fact and referred this in his Early History of Kāmarūpa as follows :

"The story of Behulā and Chānd Sadāgar appears to be both common to Bengal and Kāmarūpa The ballads connected with this story must have been current in Western Kāmarūpa and the rest of northern Bengal long before the verses were reduced to writing, by Sukavi Nārāyan probably in the thirteenth century and by Durgābar in the early part of the sixteenth century. The ballads of Sukavi Nārāyan's composition are still sung in Kāmrūpa and they are known as *Suk-Nānis* or Suk-Nārāyanis to this day. Sukavi Nārāyan was very likely a poet of Kāmarūpa who described the sea-voyages of a Kāmarūpī trader named Chānd Sadāgar whose home was in Chaygāon in modern Kamrup, on the south bank of the Brahmaputra."[1]

This note is written not to prove the nationality of Nārāyaṇdeva, but to refer to another recension of Padmāpurāṇ available in Assam, of which the learned editor of the University publication fails to take notice of. Sukavi Nārāyaṇdeva's *Surasa Pācālī* is very popular in Assam, specially in the districts of Kamrup and Darrang. The entire poem is recited even today by the professional singing parties during the time of *Māroi* or *Manasā Pūjā*. This singing party is known as *Ojhā-Pāli*.[2] Ojhā-Pāli party generally consists of five persons and is divided into two groups, each singing in chorus. The leader is known as *ojhā* (master) and his associates are called *pālis*. The ojhā gives *dihā* or *disā* and recites the poem which is accompanied by *pālis* repeating the *dihā* and playing on cymbals. Nārāyaṇdeva's Padmāpurāṇ is recited by the ojhā-pāli even in private houses, on festive occasions or as a popular amusement.

In Assam, manuscript copies of Nārāyaṇdeva's Padmāpurāṇ are still to be found in private possessions. The writer is personally aware of such a copy, now in the possession of a family at Mangaldoi, Darrang. Not only the manuscripts of Padmāpurāṇ, but many other valuable Assam recensions of old Bengali texts may be recovered from this part of the province, if the University of Calcutta offers some facilities to Assamese scholars working in this field.

Leaving aside the manuscripts a *khanda* (chapter) of Nārāyaṇdeva's poem, known in Assamese as *Bhāitheli khanda*, was published in 1931 by Shri Mukundamalla Baruā and Shri Harināṛāyan Baruā from Nalbari, Kamrup district, Assam. The book bears remarkable resemblance in tone, contents, and language of the Padmāpurāṇ now published under the auspices of the Calcutta University. It begins with some introducing verses that take notice of the six sons of Chānd Sadāgor, and goes on narrating all the well-known episodes connected with the story of Behulā and Lakhindār, and closes with the restoration of Lakhindār and his six brothers to life. It is to be remembered that the *Bhāitheli Khanda* is only a chapter from Nārāyaṇdeva's Padmāpurāṇ, which is commonly known in Assamese as *Sukanāsni*. This being the fact, the published Assamese text has left out many episodes connected with the previous birth of Padmā, Beulā etc., and the subsequent episodes related to Beulā's life after the restoration of Lakhindār to life.

This recension, in places, preserves some Assamese elements specially in introducing some homely scenes couched in proverbial language. For example, the following similes used by Beulā in referring to her yielding to her husband's desire on the bridal night seems to create an Assamese atmosphere. These verses do not occur in the present Bengali edition of the Calcutta University.

बेजुला बोले शुना प्रभु कहों तोमार ठाइ ।
खरूपत जानो पुरूषर लज्जा नाइ ॥
कोवँल घाँइ देखिले बलधर चापे बल ।
युवती देखिले हय पुरूष पागल ॥
परर बस्तु देखि चोरर ऊबावल होवे मति ।
ऊबावल पुरूषर मन देखिले युवती ॥

1 Early History of Kamarupa, By K. L. Barua. Page 322.
2 The word *Pāli* may originate from *pāñchāla* (a group of five).

कामीर कारणे लखाइ है गैछे पागल ।
भोक भोक करे येन भोकोरा छागल ॥
* * * *
अवाइचा मरुक प्रभु जुरि बावे हाल ।
नष्ट करे नांगल जंगलि नष्ट करे फाल ॥

(Page 16, Padmāpurān, *Bhāitheli Khanda*).

The account relating to the recipe given to Padmā by Nārada is also remarkable from this point of view. A few verses are quoted below. They are also not in the present Bengali edition.

* * * * *
नारदे वचन पाइया चाहि गावे हात दिया
बुजिलोँ तोमार ज्वरर लक्षण ॥
एक औषध देओँ जानि काचा दुग्ध काचा पानी
खाइवा बैनी सेरेक प्रमाण ।
पका तेपोल टेंगा दै ताक बैनी खावा ले
ज्वर चारि जाव एतिक्षणे ॥
गागल माछ गाजर पानी ताक बैनी खावा जानि
खाचिर तैले करिया रन्धन ।
याव तोरे ज्वर चारि काटिब सुखर जारि
तबे बैनी एराइबा मरण ॥

(Page 90, *Bhāitheli Khanda*).

Some episodes in the Assamese recension are a bit elaborate and are narrated in an artistic manner. For example we may refer to the musings of the Kālanāga, prior to his biting Lakhindār :

दिहा : (अने रे) कान्दे कालीनाग लखाइर सुख चाइ ।
कोन सने दकिम बालाक प्राण फुटि याय ॥
पद : चुखिकोचा दकिम बालार देखिबाक भाल ।
माथा गोट दकिम बालार डाव नारिकल ॥
कपालखन दकिम बालार द्वितीयार जोन ।
दुइ कर्ण दकिम बालार बारे गकुर पान ॥
दुइ चक्षु दकिम बालार आकाशर तारा ।
नाक गोट दकिम बालार सोणर पाकारा ॥
दुइ ओँठ दकिम बालार मनोहर हाँसि ।
दन्त दुइ दकिम बालार सुक्तार पाहि ॥
जिभाखन दकिम बालार आलना वरण ।
गल गोट दकिम बालार हंसर वदन ॥
दुइ बाहु दकिम बालार येन शालर शिरि ।
दश अंगुलि दकिम बालार चँपा फुलर करि ॥
बुकुखन दकिम बालार चन्दनर पाता ।
पिठिखन दकिम बालार सूकुयर चाता ॥
राजहार दकिम बालार सुधार मारली ।
कामिहार दकिम बालार पुतुला सारि सारि ॥
पेन गोट दकिम बालार अमला भाण्डारि ।
नाभिनाला दकिम बालार मलानेर दारि ॥
काँकालखन दकिम बालार अनि बर सरु ।
आटिले सुठिने लुकै हरर डम्बरु ॥
दुइ तपिला दकिम बालार देखिबाक भाल ।
दुइ उरात दकिम बालार येन रामकल ॥

दुइ आठु दक्षिम बालार सुवर्णेर थिला ।
दुइ डिमा दक्षिम बालार येन कैतेकीर डिला ॥
दुइ गड़ा दक्षिम बालार डिमार चोकला ।
दुइ पाता दक्षिम बालार टेंगार बाकला ॥
सकल शरीर लखाइर विचारि चाहिला ।
तिलर समान छिद्र खुजिया नपाइला ॥

(Pages 21-22, *Bhāitheli Khanda*).

Some differences in language are also noticed here and there in the Assamese recension. Such dialectical variations are of course invariable, due to its long association with the Assamese speaking region. The following extracts are cited from both the texts to show the similarity and the differences between the languages of these different recensions.

In the University edition, the following verses occur in depicting Beulā's unshaken determination to accompany the corpse of her husband :

भूमिचार्या फूल तवे आनिल उयारि ।
सोनकार हाते दिला विपुला सुन्दरि ॥
एहि पुष्प फुटिया जेदिन नहे वास ।
सेहि दिन जानिञ आमार जाय हइल नास ॥
काड़ार तैलेते जदि कृष्णमास जले वाति ।
तवेसे जानिञ आमी तथाते आछि सति ॥
लोहार तप्तल पुनं पात जले भरि ।
निहरिर उपरे थेल विपुला सुन्दरि ॥
विना अग्निते अर्व्व हइया यदि फेला भासे ।
तवेसे जानिञ आमी आइलाम देसे ॥

(Page 106)

Compare the language of this extract with the following account of the *Bhāitheli Khanda* :

शाइरीर आगे वेउला बुजिया प्रकार ।
परीचा बुजिया याइबो सत्य बुजिवार ॥
एक तोला तैलेते कृय मास ज्वले बाती ।
तथापितो नुटुतिव तेख एक रति ॥
आरु एक दिशो मइ सत्यर प्रमाण ।
मोर भितरे मइ बुबो उहा धान ॥
तेवेसे सतीर मोर परीचा बुजिव ।
येखने फेलाइबो धान तेखने गजिव ॥
मूइचम्पा फूल वेउला आनिला उभारि ।
शाइरीर हस्ते दिला वेउला सुन्दरी ॥
एइ फुल मरि यदि गंध हय नाश ।
तेवेसे जानिवा मोर सत्य हइव नाश ॥
लोहार तप्तले जल आछिलेक भरि ।
खुतियात तुलि दिला वेउला सुन्दरी ॥
विना जुइ यद्यपि हारित भात भासे ।
तेवेसे जानिवा माता वेउला घरे आसे ॥

(Pages 46-47)

Whether the language of the Assamese version is an improvement or deterioration may be best judged by a comparative study of both the texts. It may however be mentioned, that a critical and analytical study of the Assamese version might have helped the present editor in solving some knotty problems relating to archaic words and abstract formations. It would have greatly enhanced the utility and merit of the publication of the Calcutta University. In a work like this, Dr. Das Gupta would have found the active co-operation of many Assamese scholars who are always eager to render some service to their *Alma Mater*.

Miscellany

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

AN AMERICAN INTERPRETATION OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The political philosophy of colonialism has obtained a straightforward re-statement in the views of the British Foreign Minister, Anthony Eden, as expressed in ths U.S.A. The *Bulletin* of the Foreign Policy Association (New-York) interprets them as follows (April, 1943).

"The British recognize that twentieth century conditions call for a new type of association between the advanced and the less advanced peoples and that they, as the greatest colonial power, have a special responsibility for working out that relationship. They see the task is not in terms of surrender of any colonial territory held in 1939 or in the establishment of an international colonial administration but in improved British administration concentrating on economic as well as political progress and possibly in conjunction with international co-operation in evolving a charter for all dependent areas and some form of general joint supervision * * * * Britain contemplates the future of colonies and also of India within the Commonwealth rather than in complete severance of connection with the British Crown."

Evidently, the British mentality in colonialism or imperialistic world-domination, as indicated here, has been keyed up to the rising tide of victories in North Africa during the last five months. Here we have an American interpretation of British world-order. And this statement is quite in keeping with American philosophy in regard to American empire-policy *vis-à-vis* the Philippines. The categories, "advanced peoples" and "less advanced peoples," belong to the ideologies of race-chauvinism in which Americans lag behind none. Colonialism or imperialism, whether Anglo-American, French, Dutch or otherwise, is essentially raciological or ethnocentric in character. Ethnocentrism of the nineteenth century is being maintained intact in the present in the slogans associated with neo-imperialists of the world. An allied or identical category is the slogan of "trusteeship" popularized in works like *The Ideas and Ideals of the British Empire* by Ernest Barker (Cambridge, 1941).

This sort of trustee-imperialism is not likely to be distasteful in the present moods of American statesmanship. American imperialism has been intensified and consolidated in the proceedings of the Pan-American Conference at Havana in Cuba (July, 1940). And since the landing of American troops in North Africa (November, 1942) American colour-prejudice and ethnocentric chauvinism has been getting a powerful fillip. It is at the right moment that the British doctrine of "advanced peoples" playing the guardian to "less advanced peoples" has therefore been enunciated in the American *milieu*. As a rule, American political philosophy is ever ready to assimilate and promote anti-Asian and anti-African colonial policies of one sort or other.

BALANCING IN COLONIALISM

Anglo-American world-domination, as mirrored forth in these new words and phrases about colonies, dependencies, Empire-policies, the so-called Atlantic Charter, and so forth, is eminently well calculated to evoke corresponding ideologies not only among the subject-races but,—and this dangerously enough,—among the other powers that be. For instance, in the first place, Germany is not less ethnocentric and raciological than England and America. She is quite conversant with the ideology of "advanced peoples" possessing a "special responsibility" for working out a relationship with "less advanced peoples." Only, in her sentiments, judgments and philosophies the "less advanced peoples" are the Europeans like Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Belgians, Dutch and all the other riff-raffs from one end of Europe to the other. In case and as long as England and the U.S.A. dominate Asia, Africa and America, Germany will

consider herself to be the "natural master," in the Aristotelian sense, of the entire European continent. To use the uptodate categories of current international philosophy, she is used to placing herself in the position of the "trustee" for watching and promoting the "economic as well as political progress" of the "less advanced peoples" of Europe. Germany's "European Order" is a simple reaction to the Anglo-American "world-order." Both these orders are nothing but forms of imperialism and slavification, pure and undefiled.

This implies that the Poles, Czechs and other "less advanced" Europeans are to remain slaves, colonies, subject races, semi-slaves, or demi-dependent nations to Germany as long as Asians, Africans or others remain subject to Anglo-American world-imperialism. The colonialism prevailing in Asia, Africa or America has its natural and necessary balance or counterpart in a hundred per cent colonialism or semi-colonialism obtaining in Europe. World War II, like World-War I, has this "balancing in colonialism" as one of its chief urges. A World-War III is likely again to emerge during the next two or three decades on account of the same urge. The Foreign Policy Association's interpretation of British empire policy bids fair to be a fine explanation of a most profound and permanent cause of the danger of enslavement of Europe by Germany. It will act as a perpetual spur to Germany to equip herself with the object of dominating the "less advanced" Europeans and developing their "economic as well as political progress."

RUSSIA AND COLONIALISM

In the second place, this Anglo-American world-imperialism cannot appear to be a factor of world-peace to Soviet Russia, the ally of England and America. The Leninists of Bolshevik Russia are the furthest removed from this policy. It can serve but to excite the worst suspicions of the Stalin regime *vis-à-vis* the alleged humanitarian ideals of Soviet Russia's allies. Communism, whenever and in so far as it happens to be genuine, cannot afford to be a permanent ally of colony-ruling and slave-driving empire-holders.

The programme of the Communist Party, adopted at the Eighth Congress in March, 1919, recognises categorically, be it recalled, the "right of colonies and non-sovereign nations to secession." Anglo-American colonialism is at poles asunder from this position.*

The nationalism of every subject race, dependency or colony in the two hemispheres is likely once more to be accepted by Soviet Russia as her most natural and inevitable ally. World-wide communism can but tend to manifest itself as the virtually sole promoter of national independence and human freedom. Soviet Russia cannot be prevented from looming large as the saviour of helpless millions in Africa and Asia. The reactions of the statesmen of Soviet Russia to the political philosophy of the Foreign Policy Association of New York are bound to be Leninist with vengeance. Leninism may then be depended upon as acquiring a fresh lease of life during World-War II and after.

Neither de-imperialization nor de-albinization is envisaged by the Foreign Policy Association's interpretation of the new world-system. If anything, it assures to mankind the permanent possibilities of world-wars and preparations for world-wars. Neo-colonialism is not in for world-peace. Soviet Russia, as the ally of Anglo-American world-imperialism, cannot be hood-winked into believing that the world's last war is being fought in World-War II. The shibboleth of world-peace is being rung out of existence by such political philosophies as those of Eden. And this rejection of the ideology of world-peace is well calculated to foster honesty, realism and sincerity in international politics.

* Stalin : *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (New-York), p. 288.

Round The World

Dissolution of the Comintern

Recently the Prisidium of the Third International took the bold step of recommending the dissolution of this body. Though an international organisation, the Comintern was both in its origin and in its management really an annexe of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In view of this the recommendation for dissolution may be regarded as an important symptom of the realism of Stalin.

The Bolshevists who engineered the October revolution in Russia fervently believed in the brotherhood of the workers of all countries. To them the revolution was in its essence and principle universal. Their ambition was to set up a classless society and the dictatorship of the Proletariat in all countries. Revolution would be only half-hearted and incomplete in their eyes if the workers gained control in one country and remained in chains elsewhere.

It was also brought home to the leaders of the Russian revolution that international revolution and communism must be their aim not only in principle but in policy as well. They became convinced that if the communist experiment was to succeed in Russia and other parts of the Soviet Union, it was essential that in other countries of the world also there must be a similar revolution in social and political organisation. They knew that the ruling class in other countries was thinking of directing a combined crusade against the communist system of Russia. Even before the last war was ended, General Hoffmann was actually thinking of a plan under which it might be possible to organise such a crusade. Nor was this General alone of this view. His opinion and policy were shared by many other influential people. So the engineering of revolution elsewhere became a weapon of offence and defence to Lenin and his colleagues and to this end the Third International was set up in 1919.

This policy was kept up for nearly a decade. But by 1927 one group in the Russian Communist Party, led by Stalin, became convinced that this incitement of revolution through the Comintern was only creating enemies for the Soviet Union. Actually such incitement did not prove very effective. In fact it only inspired a spirit of counter-revolution. But this point of view was not acceptable to the other group which was led by Trotsky who still pinned his faith to the old principle and policy. Stalin, however, got the upperhand, exiled Trotsky and gradually liquidated his following in the Soviet Union. So the policy of Stalin prevailed. Henceforward although the Comintern continued to exist, it lost its claws and teeth. It became increasingly an innocuous body. Stalin held the view that while the cause of international communism should not be abandoned, it should be fostered less by incitement of revolution from Russia and more by the example of a successful communist experiment in that country. He thought that while such incitement would only irritate the Governments of other contries and combine them against Russian communism to the detriment of the latter, concentration on communist efforts in Russia would result in the creation of such a communist society as would become a standing inspiration to the peoples of other countries.

So even before 1934 the communist international had ceased to be a live body. In that year the Soviet Government entered the League of Nations and thereby became a partner of other peaceful nations in the maintenance of collective security. The rise of Fascism in Germany and Italy had been such an eye-opener to the Soviet Union that it decided to unite with non-communist

popular groups in countries like France and England and create thereby a popular front against the counter-revolution in Germany and Italy. It may be known that this hankering for alliance with non-communist groups on the part of the Soviet Government was a definite departure from its old policy of universal revolution. Consequently it may be said that by 1934 the Soviet Government had travelled far from the revolutionary moorings and in view of this the recent recommendation for dissolution was only the logical culmination of the new policy.

While Russian communism has not lost anything by the dissolution of the Comintern, the Soviet Government has made itself popular by this step in capitalist democracies like Great Britain and the U. S. A. These countries are averse to the principles of communism and as such they have never taken very keenly to the new regime in the former Empire of the Czars. Their antipathy to the Soviet system was all the greater because of the existence of the Comintern and its policy of interfering in the affairs of other states. There was a time in the modern world when republicanism was regarded as too dangerous a doctrine to be tolerated. But when after the initial period of revolutionary zeal in France, the leaders of republicanism gave up their mission to impose their ideas upon other countries by force, the new principle became gradually respectable and towards the close of the 19th century we find Czarist Russia clasping in friendship the hand of Republican France. Similiarly after an initial period of hatred and antagonism towards the heterodox experiment in Russia, the other States might have been reconciled to it. But so long as the Comintern existed, it was a sword of Damocles hanging over the head of other political systems. Even after 1927 and 1934 there was every risk of this latent instrument being potent again and interfering in the affairs of other states. So the position of live and let live was not reached. Suspicion of Russian aims and aspirations continued. But the dissolution of the Comintern has put an end to this suspicion and it may make it possible for different political systems to work side by side in the present world.

There may be some who would think that the dissolution of the Third International is only a diplomatic step and a political ruse on the part of Stalin. They may think that he has taken the step only to gain the good-will and co-operation of other states in the present emergency but as soon as it would pass over he will revert to the old policy of militant communism and revolutionary interference. But people who may think in this vein are counting without some important factors. The span of revolutionary zeal is always limited. For a period a party or group of people may remain revolutionary in ideal and principle but after that comes a time when they would like to settle down. This is the teaching of history both in respect of religious and of political doctrines. No religious faith was and has been held more fervently and zealously than Islam. But the Arabs after a short militant career became increasingly tolerant in outlook and policy. If crusades on behalf of Islam were undertaken later, they were undertaken under new auspices and leadership. The Russian Communist leaders after years of revolutionary enthusiasm also seem now to have settled down. The new generation that has come to the front under Stalin's leadership is no doubt singularly attached to the socialist system. But it has concentrated on its successful working within the Soviet Union. This tradition of internal concentration has really been solidified and it is unlikely that any large section of people of the U. S. S. R. would find sufficient incentive to cut away from the tradition and resort to the old policy of international communism.

It has been pointed out already that the Communist International was set up partly at least as an instrument of defence. If after the war the Soviet Union finds itself safe from the possible onslaughts of its neighbours, it is very unlikely that the policy of fanning revolution in other countries will be resumed. It should also be emphasised that the Soviet Government is likely to have been

convinced of not only the futility but also of the danger of such interference in the affairs of other states. The idea of a national state is in fact yet too strong in the modern world for such interference being welcomed. In Italy, Hungary, Austria, Germany, France, England—in none of these countries the zeal of the Comintern could bring about a lasting revolution. The only result of such interference was in fact the creation of bitterness in these countries against Russia. It seems that so realistic a statesman as Stalin would never again make the mistake of perpetuating this bitterness by interference.

It should be further emphasised that if as a result of the new step taken by Stalin there is more intimate collaboration between the Soviet Union and other countries, it will develop an understanding of other systems among the Soviet citizens and such understanding will certainly help in blunting the edge of revolutionary enthusiasm.

The Relation between the Executive and Legislature in U.S.A.

A Committee of political scientists was constituted in 1941 by Professor Frederic A. Ogg, then President of the American Political Science Association, to study the position of the Congress *vis-à-vis* the Federal Executive during the last ten years. In 1942 this committee was reappointed with one or two changes in personnel by his successor in the Presidentship of the Association, namely, Mr. William Anderson. The report of this Committee has now been for some time before the American public.

It should be known that although the U.S.A. entered the War only after the Pearl Harbour incident in December, 1941, actually the country has been in a state of emergency for over a decade. The great economic depression which began in 1929 disorganised American economic life so much and called for so urgent measures to meet this new situation that ever since Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated as President of the Republic he had to initiate measure after measure and take step after step which was regarded by many in the country as not only unorthodox but as really revolutionary. But such was the intensity of the crisis and so pathetic was the confidence of the people in the new President, that for some years not a voice could actually be heard against his actions. The world of high finance obeyed him tremblingly, the press sang paeons of praise to the new tenant of the White House and the Congress reduced itself virtually to a rubber stamp of the President who affixed it to any measure which his "brain trust" would formulate and he would accept. It was only after his second election that murmurs became increasingly audible. By then the economic situation was already well in hand and people thought that with the end of the emergency there should be an end also of the extraordinary authority and influence of the President. But as the economic emergency ended, war clouds thickened across the Atlantic. A new emergency appeared to dominate the American political sky. In its absence Roosevelt would have automatically disappeared from the White House early in 1941 and its new tenant, possibly a Republican of the colourless type, would have swung to the other extreme in his relations with the Congress. Instead of being its leader and guide, he might have reduced himself to be only its executive officer. But the War in Europe made the election of Roosevelt for the third time possible in 1940. His support in both the Houses of the Congress was, however, reduced then and further reduced two years later in 1942. So while the President has not ceased altogether to be the guide of the Congress in matters of legislation, the latter cannot be said any longer to be a mere rubber stamp.

The Committee, appointed by the President of the American Political Science Association, enquired if there had been any basic change in the relations between the Congress and the Executive, if the war-time functions of the former were being effectively performed, if the relations between the Congress

and the pressure groups were in order, if the public thought well of the Congress and regarded it as serviceable, if the procedure followed in the Congress was helpful to the performance of its essential duties, if any increased research facilities were to be made available to it and if any step should be taken to improve the representative character of the Congress.

The Committee pondered over these questions and examined the facts relevant thereto. Its conclusion is that although there has been some decline in the power and prestige of the Congress in relation to the Executive branch of the Government, such decline was neither considerable, nor was it a special feature of the American legislature. It reflected "a trend true of representative assemblies generally," and is explained by the expansion and centralisation of governmental functions, the technical nature of modern administrative problems, the growth of the federal bureaucracy, the power of executive patronage and by the impact of the emergency. But while there has been some decline in power and prestige of the Congress, it should not be thought that this body has become absolutely ineffective. The Committee rather is of the view that the 77th Congress (the one in session in 1941 and 1942) originated many of the most constructive measures and quickly and effectively co-operated with the Commander-in-Chief (the President) in the prosecution of the War.

One of the findings of the Committee is that while the Congress is well organised for enacting laws and appropriating money, it has not developed the necessary machinery "to exercise oversight of the administration." Such oversight involves (*i*) securing compliance with the legislative will, (*ii*) discovering and disclosing dishonesty, (*iii*) checking excessive enthusiasm and (*iv*) energising the Administration. But it may be repeated that the Congress has not the requisite machinery to exercise this four-fold supervision. There are even some who think that such supervision on the part of the Congress will not be effective. Some agencies inside the Executive itself, such as the budget bureau, should be properly developed for this work.

As it has been pointed out already the Committee is no doubt of the opinion that for years since 1933 the Congress instead of controlling public policy had to allow itself under forces of circumstances to become a tool in the hands of the Administration. The leaders of the majority party in the House as well as in the Senate "tended to become managers for the President rather than spokesmen of the Congress." Many of them became really "too subservient or too deferential to the President." The party caucus which was the traditional machinery for formulating the Congressional party policy and managing the business of Congress was overshadowed by the Monday morning conferences at the White House between the President and the Democratic Party leaders in the Congress. They constituted a kind of legislative cabinet. Many of the important bills were framed in the Division of Legislative Reference of the Bureau of the Budget and these bills were discussed in the Monday conferences. So bills were framed under the leadership of the President and entrusted by him to the party leaders in the Congress to be pilotted by them through this body. As a result of such deference to the President for nearly a decade, many apprehended that the Congress might become "a weak and timid appendix to bureaucracy." But since 1941 the wind has been blowing in the opposite direction. The Congress has asserted itself on many occasions during this period of two years. The pessimism about this body is consequently disappearing. "Only the Congress of the United States," one Senator actually observed sometime ago, "stands between the people of the country and an all-powerful central government."

One of the reasons why the members of the Congress (both Senators and Representatives) find it difficult to keep a watchful eye upon the Administration is their pre-occupation with the constituents. They have to render an immense

variety of services to them and to be engaged a good part of the day either in interviews or in correspondence with them. Those who are eager for re-election cannot shirk this duty. The former Vice-President Garner once observed very truly that "Letters are a Congressman's bread and butter." The Committee has not found it possible to recommend any step which may reduce this burden.

The Committee has otherwise made some tentative suggestions for improving the character of the Congress as an effective organ of the Federal Government. One of them is that the members of the Congress should be ineligible for any Presidential appointment until two years after the expiration of their terms. It need not be explained that this reform would make the Congress more independent of Presidential influence. Another suggestion is that regular contacts should be established between Congressional Committees and corresponding administrative agencies. The regularising and formalizing of the weekly conferences between the President and the leaders of the Congress is another suggestion. It is again suggested that the members of the Cabinet should be entitled, by law, to take their seats in the Congress and participate in the deliberations of the two houses, in respect, of course, of their own departments. At present the Library of the Congress maintains a Legislative Reference Service so that research assistance might be available to the Committees and its members. A suggestion is made that the staff of this Legislative Reference Service should be expanded. Among the other tentative recommendations of the Committee four-year terms and reduction of the size of the House should be mentioned here. A chamber elected only for a period of two years cannot gain the ear of the nation and before it becomes well-posted as to public affairs and its own duties, its term expires. So the longer term of four years is thought to be more appropriate. In a House of nearly four hundred and fifty again an individual member cannot have, as such, much prestige. His opportunities for participation in debates also become meagre. A smaller body would vouchsafe greater chances and open greater opportunities both for more solid work and for greater social prestige. Further in a country where most things are judged by the monetary standard, it is regarded as essential that higher salaries should be paid to the members of the Congress if this body is to command the requisite influence in the country.

The Political Science Curriculum in War-Time U.S.A.

A Committee was appointed in 1942 by the President of the American Political Science Association in response to a request of the United States Office of Education to examine the curriculum of political science in the Universities and Colleges of America and suggest if any changes were necessary to adjust it to war-time conditions. The Committee appreciates it that in the present war democracy faces the greatest challenge in its history and in order that this challenge may be successfully met it is essential for the Universities and other educational institutions to produce men of keen insight and critical judgment and train them in good moral and intellectual habits so that with free minds they "can join in our struggle toward a better life for all the people of the world."

The Committee asked itself if to this end any changes in the curriculum were necessary. It answered the question in the negative. "As political scientists, we should remember that our function is to explore the bases of organised social and political life and to teach the principles of organisation that we discover. These principles, if they are of any permanent value, are the same in war-time as in peace-time, and, if we have done our duty during peace-time, we will not need to change either our curriculum or our methods in any drastic manner during the emergency of war."

"What we need to do in any particular case," the Committee continues, "depends upon the answers that we can give to such questions as the following :

Are we succeeding in getting the student to see himself as a part of the vast socio-political complex which is the world of to-day ? Are we stimulating his imagination so that he can see the world as one interrelated whole, in which the problems of geographically or socially remote persons are connected in some fashion with his own ? Are we raising questions of goals or ends to be attained ? Are we helping in the clarification of problems of right and justice ? Are we offering guidance in the formulation of a social and political philosophy adequate to meet the problems created by the turmoil and strife through which we are passing ? Are we acquainting the student with the facts about political institutions and their operation ? Are we making these facts of value by fitting them into a mosaic that embraces not only what is but what ought to be ? Are we aiding in making it possible for the collective life of the human race to become increasingly a matter of conscious human control ? "

While the Committee discouraged the rush to introduce new courses in political science, it emphasised that there should be a continuous attempt to keep all courses abreast of the times and to make full use of important new materials. " For example, (*a*) we need, at present, explain the effect of the war upon our own governmental system, the reasons for the creation of new agencies, and the way in which they affect the daily lives of ordinary citizens . . . , (*b*) we need to familiarise the student with probable post-war problems, analyze and evaluate the experience of the past in this respect and help prepare the student for intelligent participation in the future of his generation, (*c*) we need to give the student an understanding and appreciation of the difference between the autocratic or dictatorial and the democratic way of life . . . , (*d*) we need to make greater use of comparative materials on Latin America, India, China, Japan, Africa and the like. These areas, on which relatively little emphasis has heretofore been placed, are now significant to the student, and can be effectively used to help him understand many things that, standing alone, would seem abstract and remote from his life."

The Committee further holds that "a special attempt should be made to revitalize continually the courses all along the line—to give them real meaning and value to the student. . . . Now, more than ever before, we are in a position to deal with such topics as presidential power, representative government, propaganda techniques, individual rights and liberties, and the conduct of foreign affairs in a concrete and realistic way by drawing from the wealth of examples constantly before us those that are of real significance to the student. Now, more than ever before, we need to develop an understanding and appreciation of democracy. But to do so we must have less of the cold legalistic frame-work of government and more of the actual way in which things work ; less of the minutiae of legislative procedure and more analysis and evaluation which will lead to critical judgment and insight ; less of the legislature in colonial America and more of representative government in the twentieth century ; less of state constitutions and more of public opinion."

The Committee finally laid stress on the comparative method of teaching. " We can profitably make considerable use of the comparative method in all our teaching, and to-day we must not fail to take advantage of its effectiveness in making plain the values of democracy. By comparing our Congress with the German Reichstag, our police system with the German Gestapo, our schools and universities with the German educational barracks, we may bring about a clearer understanding and appreciation of the democratic way of life."

Eire's Neutrality

A month ago we discussed in these columns the attitude of different groups of people in Eire to the policy of neutrality which de Valera's Government has maintained since the outbreak of the present War. We then pointed out that

all parties and groups in this part of Ireland were keen and zealous supporters of this policy and there was no fissure in public opinion in respect of this issue. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that nothing has more embittered British opinion than this united front in Eire in regard to the maintenance of neutrality. Mr. Herbert Morrison, who is in the War Cabinet, observed sometime ago that this policy "had been to the great hurt of the Empire's cause and little advantage to Eire's reputation." In fact as there is unanimity in Eire in respect of the policy of neutrality, so there is absolute unanimity in Britain as to the danger to allied interests which such a policy involves. Public men in Eire are, however, doing their best to bring home to less prejudiced people in the world that there is nothing sordid or ignoble about the neutrality on which they are insisting. One of them observed in a speech made at Cork as a rejoinder to Herbert Morrison's remarks "that it will in time be clear to all in Britain, that our neutrality is as honourable as the neutrality of Sweden, or Portugal, or Spain, or Turkey, or Switzerland. We had no part in creating the circumstances that have brought about this war. Indeed it will occur to many that the partition of our country is the prime cause in bringing about an internal situation which prevented us from playing a fuller part in international affairs in the League of Nations and at Imperial Conferences..." Whether because of partition Eire was actually handicapped in playing a prominent parp in imperial and international affairs, we do not presume to know. But that it created a good deal of bitterness in the Irish people, every one will admit and it is also true that because of this bitterness they failed to show in the hour of England's danger that active sympathy which was expected of her as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. There are many British people, however, who argue that the Irish in their traditional animosity towards Britain would have remained neutral in any event. Consequently if the northern counties were not partitioned off as they had been, the British Government would have been deprived, in the crucial hour, of the services of the northern ports as well. So partition, in their opinion, has saved something at least from the general alienation. But while such arguments may appear very plausible, it should not be forgotten that risk taken in both hands, not unoften, is rewarded with the eternal friendship of a whole nation. Possibly the abolition of the partition in 1937 or 1938 would have made the whole of Ireland a willing and active partner of Anglo-American Alliance. But it is not in the British line of things to take such bold steps.

Conservative Leadership in Canada

The Conservative Party in Canada, of which Sir John Macdonald was the founder, has been for a few years in a quandary. There are people who even happen to think that its mission is over and its functions have been fulfilled. It has no longer the right to exist. During the first sixty years of the Dominion there were two national parties—the Conservative and the Liberal—which took office alternately. But since the early thirties the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Party (C. C. F.) has entered the lists with a programme of action akin to that of the British Labour Party. It is believed in some circles that there is no room for the three parties to work side by side. One will have to be eliminated. That one will not be the C. C. F. which on the contrary is likely to grow from strength to strength as the party of progress. As for the two historical parties, the Liberals under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie King have really become the party for the maintenance of *status quo* and as such should be the alternative to the C. C. F. Besides, the Liberals with their hold as much in other provinces as in Quebec should be regarded as a truly national party. The Conservatives have, however, very little following in French Canada. Their old supporters in this province pinned their faith in the thirties to French

Canadian nationalism and pursued for a number of years the policy of separating Quebec from the rest of Canada. In view of this the Conservatives have lost a good deal of their old prestige and effectiveness. Their main difficulty was again the absence of strong and virile leadership. Mr. R. B. (now Lord) Bennett retired to Britain as, he thought, the rigorous climate of Canada was not agreeing with him. Dr. Manion, a man of only mediocre ability, was chosen to succeed to him as the leader of the Conservative Party. But the choice proved almost disastrous and the elections of 1940 went completely against it. Later an attempt was made to rehabilitate its position in the country by electing Mr. Arthur Meighen to the leadership. He had been a former Conservative Prime Minister but had gone to the Upper House and was pursuing for years the leisurely politics of that chamber. His ability was, however, acknolwedged in all circles and it was thought that he might infuse new energy and strength into the weakened body of conservative opinion in Canada and gain for the party new enthusiasm and support in the country. But the plan was shipwrecked by the defeat which Mr. Meighen sustained in a by-election for the House of Commons. After this great rebuff he took his decision of never approaching the people again. In view of this a new search had to be made for a leader of the party so that it might make a fresh bid for the country's support. In December a party convention was held to this end and it decided to elect Mr. John Bracken in this capacity. The choice is extrarodinary in more than one sense. Mr. Bracken was not a member of the Conservative Party before his election to the leadership. He had been a Liberal-Progressive of Manitoba and its Premier for a number of years. Although a Liberal he has been for the last few years a severe critic of Mr. King and his Government and his emphasis has been more on "Progressive" and less on "Liberal." He believes in Government intervention in many fields which have been left by Mr. King absolutely to private initiative and control. The Conservative party had already elaborated a new programme of action in which it led stress on such intervention. In other words the Conservatives believed that there were many voters who did not agree with the C. C. F. in many essential matters but were inclined to support it because of its progressive policy as to social legislation, etc. If these voters were now to be brought over to the Conservative side, it was necessary to reform the Conservative programme and make it more progressive. To this end, it may be repeated, a new programme was elaborated and this facilitated the acceptance of leadership by Mr. Bracken. But even then he insisted on the change of the party's name and agreed to become its leader only on condition of its being known henceforward as *Progressive Conservative*. We are not very confident that by such patch-work it would be possible for the Conservatives to gain an ascendancy in the country. But efforts will be made more vigorously to this end during the next year or two.

Australia and the Statute of Westminster

Although the Statute of Westminster was passed in 1931 by way of implementing the Balfour Declaration of 1926 in regard to the equality of status of the Dominions and the Mother Country in the British Commonwealth of Nations, it was not put into operation in Australia until recently. At that time Labour was in power in the Australian Commonwealth and the Labour Government had accepted the suggestion of the Opposition that the statute should be so drafted as to make possible its operation in Australia only when it would be adopted by the Commonwealth Legislature. As a result of this suggestion being statutorily implemented, the enactment of 1931 could not be effective in the Australian Commonwealth until its legislature happened to adopt it. For over ten years, however, this legislature made no move in this direction. But in 1941 new ideas were already afoot in Government circles. The procedure followed in regard to the declaration of war against Japan was an indication of this new

attitude. It may be remembered that the Commonwealth Government insisted on a separate declaration on its own part. Before another year passed, Dr. Evatt, the Attorney-General in the Curtin Ministry introduced in the Legislature a bill adopting the main sections of the Statute of Westminster. His argument was that in war-time many legislations were being undertaken particularly in respect of shipping, which, unless the Statute of Westminster was in operation in Australia, might be invalid under the Colonial Laws Validity Act. There was, however, opposition in many important circles to the Bill. But in the teeth of this opposition it was adopted. The opposition was inspired by suspicion that Australia under pressure of war was cutting adrift from the Empire and making closer approaches to the United States.

Tory Journal on Second Front

In view of the importance which has been attached to the second front in Europe, it may be interesting to read the following paragraph taken from an article written some time ago by the editor of the *Nineteenth Century and After*:—

"By refusing to establish a 'second front in the West', the Allies have missed their last chance of losing the war. It may be that the heaviest losses are yet to come. But that we have, so far, been spared the massacre of the younger generation that made the last war the most tragic the world has ever known, is a reason for profound gratification. That this sacrifice should have been demanded by politicians, publicists, and even by ecclesiastics at public meetings and demonstrations without any proof of its necessity, without any thought that a 'second front in the West' might mean not victory but defeat, is one of the most shameful things that have happened in the public life of this country. That the popular clamour was incited by people of supposedly progressive, humanitarian, and cosmopolitan turn of mind, once more shows the inhumanity of the humanitarian, and the fundamental ruthlessness of the utopian schemer who, in every revolution, shows himself more qualified than any others to be a terrorist—a Robespierre or a Djerjinsky."

The Secret of Russian resistance and heroism

In the same journal a writer discusses the reasons of the doggedness, selflessness, and skilfulness with which the Russians have resisted the German onslaughts during the present war. There are some who are definitely of the view that "the real roots of Soviet heroism and unity are to be found not in racial but in social causes; in the absence of class divisions, the fraternity that exists between the nations of the U.S.S.R. and the virility of the democratic system." But our writer in the Tory journal has no patience with this theory. He points out that the Russians as a nation have been hardy, dogged, and tenacious fighters since the days of the Dukes of Muscovy. History written by partial and short-sighted people has done great injustice to the great part which the Russian soldiers played during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 and during the Great War of 1914-18. It is true the Russian army was routed in the last war in the final stage but it had already rendered signal service to the allied cause by persistent fighting inspite of odds against it. So we are told that it is not because of new political organisation but by historical tradition that the Russians have proved their worth in the present struggle. We are further told that although soft progressives in other countries may set store by classless society, Stalin who is a great realist counts only upon historical traditions of Russia and he has done his best to revive and reinvogorate them so that they may help in keeping up Russian morale and spirit.

Who are these "they"?

Some time ago Sir Stafford Cripps referred in his Rectorial Address at Aberdeen to the convictions in many circles in Britain that all the promises which were now being made for reorganising social and economic systems of the country would remain unredeemed. "They" would by every manoeuvre succeed in nullifying all efforts in this direction. Sir Stafford asked the question as to who these "they" were. He did not answer it himself. But the *New Statesman and Nation* has attempted it. It refers to the industrial magnates who are entrenched in all the key positions in the country. Their sons get their training in the Public Schools whence they enter the Civil and fighting services, the Parliament and the Church. In all these fields they have ample opportunity of effectively frustrating all efforts for reform. These magnates again control the financial institutions and may threaten the Government with bankruptcy if it proceeds to act against their wishes. England, it may be pointed out, is a democracy and ultimately the will of the people is to prevail. But for the mobilisation of this will in election times a considerable amount of money is required. There *was* no doubt a Labour Party (the *New Statesman* uses the past tense) which, however, could not be compared with the Conservative Party in financial resources. It was also handicapped by the fact that while it had only one newspaper to support its cause its opponents had all the rest at their disposal. So 'they' continue to rule.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Indian Trade.—By Rao Sahib Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, M.A., Ph.D., B.Com., Barrister-at-Law, Principal and Professor of Economics, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, with a Foreword by Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Kt., K.C.I.E. Annamalai University Economic Series, No. 9. Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, Madras. Pp. xvii+270.

In the preface the author makes it clear that in view of the abnormal situation created by the war, he has confined himself to the exposition of Indian trade in pre-war days. He has, however, given a comprehensive if succinct account of such changes as have been brought about and in that connection has drawn attention to the different factors responsible for improvements in various directions in our economic life.

After lucidly discussing in one chapter our internal trade and the disabilities from which it suffers, Dr. Naidu has devoted the rest of his book to dealing with foreign trade. Basing his conclusions on statistics, which appear in the form of appendices and which should be valuable to students of Indian economics, the author has shown the gradual decline, in the share of the, U. K., in the trade of India from about the seventh decade of the last century. The conclusion at which he has arrived—and here he is in agreement with almost all Indian economists—is that India in her own interests cannot afford to adopt Imperial Preference if its effect is to antagonise countries outside the British Commonwealth with which she has trade relationships. What is apprehended is that this might lead to retaliatory measures.

The value of the work lies in its analysis of Indian trade, the fullness with which it deals with it in its different aspects and specially in the attractive way in which this subject, which laymen would regard as rather dry, has been handled. This combination of scientific accuracy and readableness has undoubtedly added to the usefulness of the book.

We trust that when settled conditions have returned after the end of the war, the author will make it a point to deal with Indian trade conditions in the situation then arising. This would undoubtedly be required if only for the sake of completeness.

Sarat Chandra Chatterjee.—By Humayun Kabir. Published by the Padma Publications, Ltd., Lakshmi Building, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta Road, Bombay. Pp. xxvii+68. Price Re. 1-4.

Mr. Yusuf Meher Ali contributes an introduction in which he tells us of his contacts with and his impressions of the writings of Sarat Chandra. The introduction of Mr. Kabir to the reader is followed by a somewhat lengthy preface which is practically a critical estimate of Sarat Chandra as a writer. The body of the book is devoted mainly to an appraisement which should be valuable for the reader desirous of making a thorough study of the novels of this great writer. Here the author has made a noteworthy contribution to the growing literature on Sarat Chandra. Instead of succumbing to the temptation of dealing in detail with each work, he has laid down broad principles, explained the effects of the environment and the atmosphere and shown Sarat Chandra's reactions to them through his work as a creative artist. It is rarely that this appreciative and yet scientific attitude is seen in studies of Indian authors. A criticism which may be urged against this study is that the ordinary reader would probably have liked the incorporation of a larger measure of the biographical element in it.

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

The Dvaita Philosophy and its Place in the Vedanta.—By Vidwan H. N. Raghavendrachar, M.A., with a Foreword By A. R. Wadia, B.A. (Cantab.), Professor of Philosophy, Mysore University.

The work is an exposition of the Vedanta Philosophy from the Dvaita standpoint of Madhvāchāryya and his school and incidentally deals also with Śaṅkarite Advaita and Rāmānujist Viśiṣṭādvaita as *purvapakṣa* or views of rival schools. The book will be welcomed by all scholars interested in Indian thought as presenting a somewhat neglected aspect of the Vedanta and as also providing a valuable critique of orthodox Vedantism from a new angle of vision. While the work undoubtedly is of value as exploring comparatively unknown territory and as combining both precision and thoroughness in its exposition, it appears to suffer to some extent from over-emphasis and exaggeration on the positive side and a corresponding underrating of the rival views on the negative. For example, the author's claim that Dvaita Vedanta is "the most important aspect of Vedantic thought," or his contention that the Dvaita does not reject but only corrects other standpoints will appear to be mere assertions for which no real case has been made out in the exposition. The author's reference to *pancabheda*, the five distinctions and to *tāratamya*, the concept of gradations as having established Dvaita and refuted Advaita, will also appear to be nothing but an extravagant claim not substantiated by convincing arguments.

The work, however, inspite of its over-emphasis, has its value as a pioneer work in a new field and as such will be very much appreciated by scholars. It appears to the present reviewer, however, that the new material that has been made available by the author's labours could be presented in a more attractive style and in language that is intelligible to the modern student of philosophy.

S. K. M.

Post-Certificate Mathematical Tests.—By L. Malone, M.A., Senior Mathematical Master, Oulton High School, Liverpool. Published by Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1942.

This little handbook, as the author tells us in the preface, is intended to be of service during two years, after the First Certificate, for preparing pupils for Higher School Certificate and Scholarship Examinations. The book consists of sixty tests, the first thirty forming the scheme of work for the first year and the remaining for the second year. Each test contains questions on Algebra, Trigonometry, Calculus, Analytical Geometry and Pure Geometry (Plane and Solid). The special feature of the book lies in the excellent choice of examples. These examples are arranged and graded in such a judicious manner that the pupil may have a real understanding of the subject matter within the scope of the work. The colleges of our Universities may profitably utilise the book for tutorial work.

R. N. SEN.

Food Problem in Bengal.—By Bimal Chandra Sinha and Professor Haricharan Ghosh. With a Foreword by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

The rank and file of the Bengal population have been accustomed for decades to only simple, monotonous and meagre diet. But for well-nigh one year even this meagre supply of food has either been denied to them or ensured only very unsteadily and at a price far beyond their reach. In fact although this problem of food supply is the most fundamental, nothing has been handled more inefficiently and thoughtlessly even in this inefficiently administered province than this fundamental problem.

Dr. Mookerjee in his Foreword to this well-written pamphlet has emphasised it that although the primary responsibility for providing the civil population with

their food requirements rests with the Government, it is tragic that its food policy has been determined without much consideration of the interests of these civil consumers. Really speaking the Government came to think of the civil population and of the necessity of supplying food to it only when the mischief had already been done. By inaugurating a drive against the supposed hoarders in the mufassil, the Government has attempted no doubt to declare to the world that there is really no food shortage in the province and that the present scarcity is due only to hoarding. Dr. Mookerjee has characterised this attempt as "a deliberate device to shift the responsibility from the shoulders of the Government to the unfortunate sufferers themselves." But the results of the drive will not be long in pricking the bubble of this theory of large scale hoarding. It will be proved in no time that if there has been hoarding at all, it has been elsewhere and not very much in the mufassil areas of this province.

The pamphlet, as it has been pointed out already, deals with the present food problem in a very simple and straightforward manner. In sixteen pages including an appendix it deals very effectively with all the factors involved in the present state of food supply in Bengal. The authors have legitimately complained that the Government has not only disregarded the interests of the civil population of this province in various ways but has not been very straight even in respect of supplying the facts and figures as to the export of rice, as to the amount of deficit and other relevant matters. In fact the different agencies of the Government have supplied different and contradictory figures. The authors have done well in giving us an analysis of the figures supplied by Major-General Wood, who happens now to occupy the important position of Secretary to the Food Department of the Government of India.

For the present crisis the authors have suggested several remedies. The first and foremost of them is "a thorough overhaul of the Government policy" in respect of export, distribution facilities, transport arrangements, import of alternative foodstuffs and stoppage of organised hoarding at the top and in the middle.

It is our hope that the pamphlet will be read as much by the members of the public as by those of the Government and help in the formulation of a better food policy for Bengal.

N. C. R.

Ourselves

I. The Senate on the Death of Sir Nilratan.—II. The University and Air Training Corps.—III. A New Fellow.—IV. A New Doctor of Science.

I. The Senate on the Death of Sir Nilratan

On the 5th June last the Senate met at a special meeting to express sorrow at the death of Sir Nilratan Sircar. The Vice-Chancellor at the outset read a message from His Excellency the Chancellor, in which he observed that Sir Nilratan's personal character "was even more inspiring than his professional career and I am glad therefore of this opportunity to pay my own brief tribute to the memory of one of the finest of Bengal's sons. Sir Nilratan Sircar was a great gentleman, and he will long be remembered among the most famous alumni of the Calcutta University." The Vice-Chancellor then placed before the Senate the two resolutions which had been recommended by the Syndicate:—

I. The Fellows of the Calcutta University mourn the death of this distinguished colleague, the late Sir Nilratan Sircar, who, during half a century, gave of his best in the service of this University as its Vice-Chancellor, as the President of the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science, as the Dean of the Faculties of Science and Medicine and as a member of the various Committees on which he was called upon to serve; so he left the impress of his unique personality in all spheres of activity and his life was an object lesson of selfless service to the cause of education, for generations of people.

A distinguished physician, an earnest educationist, a pioneer in the industrial regeneration of the province, an ardent nationalist, a man of the highest integrity, sober judgment and mature wisdom, he left a void in the social and intellectual life of the country which it is difficult to fill.

The Members of the Senate express sorrow at the death of the Senior-most Ordinary Fellow of the University and convey to his son and other members of the bereaved family their sympathy, and share with them the sorrow for the loss they have sustained.

II. That in order to perpetuate the memory of Sir Nilratan Sircar and to commemorate his connection with the study of Zoology in this

University which he ably organised and directed as President of the Board of Studies in Zoology and President of the Post-Graduate Council in Science, the Senate resolve that the University Chair of Zoology be named Sir Nilratan Sircar Professorship of Zoology.

The Vice-Chancellor in course of his speech observed, "I cannot recall any one who, since the foundation of the University, was connected with this institution for a longer period . . . . Whenever we were in difficulty or were perplexed by the intricacies of situation, his mature judgment and sane advice were always found available and useful. Indeed he was so intimately associated with the life and growth of this institution, that he became an integral part of it." The Vice-Chancellor also pointed out that Sir Nilratan "never lost touch with the progressive elements of our national and intellectual life. He retained till the closing days of his life an elasticity of mind and buoyancy of temperament which enabled him to actively participate in all highly advanced and progressive schemes and ideals."

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee associated himself with the resolutions moved by the Vice-Chancellor and in this connection he observed that although Sir Nilratan was great as a medical man "he was greater as a man and as a leader of men." "To us," he further observed, "his death is deeply personal. He gave to this University during half a century the best that a man could give . . . He actually inspired the work of every one, who was connected with the Post-Graduate Department in this University. When the University fell in evil days about 18 years ago, when there was darkness on all sides, there was one man, Sir Nilratan, who never lost his mental equilibrium. He believed in the cause for which the University stood, and served it with all his heart and all his ability. But even apart from the contributions which he made to the cause of education, to the cause of scientific and industrial advancement of this province and country, we remember him to-day as a man, the like of whom we are not likely to meet again." Dr. Mookerjee associated himself also with the second resolution and pointed out in this connection that Sir Nilratan was the second Master of Science in Zoology in this University, taking his degree in this subject in 1888 and that he inspired the organisation and advancement of the study of Zoology in this University. It was therefore in the fitness of things, he observed, "that the Head of the Department will bear the honour of the illustrious name of the great leader whose death we mourn to-day."

Among the others who spoke on the occasion were Mr. Subodhchandra Mahalanobis, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Miss Sunitibala Gupta, the

Hon'ble Mr. Justice Radhabinode Pal, Dr. M. N. Bose, Rai Bahadur Bhadreswar Barua, Sir Badridas Goenka and Dr. Itrat Hossain Zuberi.

* * *

II. The University and Air Training Corps

The War Department of the Government of India has informed the University in a communication that at present the Department will take responsibility for the organisation of an Air Training Corps only in the five Universities of Aligarh, Panjab, Madras, Allahabad and Osmania. For lack of instructional personnel and equipment it is not in a position to undertake such a responsibility elsewhere. But the other Universities may open Air Training classes on their own account. The University has requested the Government of India to reconsider the decision and to introduce an Air Training Corps at least in one University in North-East India.

* * *

III. A New Fellow

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Mr. James Buchanan, M.A., Director of Physical Education, Bengal, to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University *vice* Dr. Ali Karim.

* * *

IV. A New Doctor of Science

On the recommendation of Mr. R. H. Dastur, Dr. P. Maheswari and Professor Birbal Sahni, Mr. C. V. Krishna Iyengar has been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science. His thesis was entitled "Development of seed and its nutritional mechanism in scrophulariacea." We congratulate Dr. Iyengar.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1943

INFLATION IN THE PARADOX OF WAR-ECONOMY

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

LOANS *vs.* REVENUE IN WAR-FINANCE

WAR finance is an economic field in which some of the features of hyper-developed regions may happen to be in evidence in relatively undeveloped or underdeveloped zones. The two fundamental bases of war-finance are revenue and loans. This is the experience not only of World-War II and World-War I but of all wars since the Napoleonic times. The Indian budgets [1] for 1941-42, 1942-43 and 1943-44 exhibit, therefore, a family likeness with those of Germany and England as regards the presence of these two items. In the war-finance of Germany as of England it is the loans that command the lion's share, over 50 per cent.,[2] whereas financial India depends more on revenue than on loans. For 1943-44 the income from revenue is budgeted as Rs. 1,993 millions and from loans as Rs. 403 millions. This works out at 17 per cent. for loans as against 83 per cent. for revenue. The revenues of India's war-economy constitute, generally speaking, 75-80 per cent. while not more than 15-20 per cent. is accounted for by loans. We must not be prepared, however, for a cut and dried formula about these proportions.

[1] See the *Speech by the Finance Minister* (New Delhi, 27 February 1943), pp. 175, 178, 187.
[2] H. W. Singer, "German War-Economy in the Light of German Economic Periodicals" (*Economic Journal*, London, December 1940, April and September 1941).

During World-War I (1914-18) the percentage of normal revenue to total expenditure in the United Kingdom was as indicated below [3]:

Year	Total Expenditure in £ millions	Total Revenue in £ millions	Revenue in Percentage of Expenditure
1914	197	198	100·5
1915	561	227	40·4
1916	1,569	337	21·6
1917	2,198	573	26·1
1918	2,696	707	26·2
1919	2,579	889	34·5

Revenue accounted for 40·4, 21·6, 26·1, 26·2, and 34·5 per cent. of the total expenditure. The corresponding percentages for loans ranged from 75 to 65.

In regard to World-War I (1914-18) the proportions between revenue and loans have been worked out by H. E. Fisk in *The Inter-Ally Debts* (Bankers Trust Co., New-York, 1924, Table IX, p. 330). The total cost of the war (*i.e.*, expenditure in excess of the pre-war basis) covering the six years 1914-15 to 1919-20 was distributed between revenue and loans as follows in the countries named against them (in 000,000 dollars):

Countries	Revenues	Loans
1. Great Britain	14,042	34,958
2. Canada	403	2,130
3. India	530	509
4. France	1,416	32,031
5. Italy	5,238	13,396
6. Germany	5,777	41,193
7. Russia	745	19,030

The revenue-loan proportion (in percentage) comes out as follows:

Countries	Revenues	Loans
1. Great Britain	28·7	71·3
2. Canada	15·9	84·1
3. India	46·5	53·5
4. France	4·2	95·8
5. Italy	28·1	71·9
6. Germany	12·3	87·7
7. Russia	3·8	96·2

Not all the seven countries indicated above exhibited the same proportion. But the dominant share of loans is conspicuous. In the revenue item India's percentage was the highest.

According to the German economist, Prion, "England was only able to cover about 12½ per cent. of the war expenditure by taxation and in the

[3] A. H. Gibson, *British Finance*, 1914-21 (London, 1921), pp. 202, 215 (chart on p. 200).

case of all the other countries the percentage was very much lower."[4] In Germany the total war expenses from August 1914 to December 1918 amounted to 147,300,000,000 Marks. During this period the total revenue accounted for 20,740,800,000 Marks. The rest, *i.e.*, over 125 milliard Marks had to be raised by loans.[5]

The war budgets of India during World-War II as during World-War I show other pictures. It is the low national income *per capita*[6] of industrially undeveloped or infantile countries like China and India that, other circumstances remaining the same, almost monistically determines this proportion, namely, the relative paucity of loans in war-finance.

The Inflation-Complex in Employment-*cum*-Currency

Another item which does not fail to attack the undeveloped economy as the hyper-developed during a war-regime is the expansion- or inflation-complex in employment-*cum*-currency.

The note-circulation of the Bank of England rose from £554,000,000, in 1939 to £950,000,000 in December 1942. The only cover for this period was fiduciary (£580 m. in 1939 and £984 m. in 1942). Virtually all the gold was transferred from the Bank to the Exchange Equalization Account.[7] Not more than £200,000 only was left in the vaults of the Bank.

The expansion of note-circulation in India during the period may be seen in the following figures of the Reserve Bank[8]:

Items	Dec. 1939	30 June 1942	5 March 1943
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Notes	2,542,000,000	4,615,000,000	6,348,000,000
Gold Cover	441,000,000	444,000,000	444,000,000
Sterling Securities	1,075,000,000	2,668,000,000	3,957,000,000
Total Cover	1,519,000,000	3,112,000,000	4,401,000,000
Percentage of Cover to Notes	59·7	67·4	69·3

[4] *Steuer und Anleihepolitik in England während des Krieges* (Berlin, 1918); Karl Helfferich, *Money*, Vol. I (London, 1927), p. 277.

[5] Helfferich, *Money*, Vol. I, pp. 224, 228.

[6] *All-India Income Tax Report and Returns, 1938-39* (Delhi, 1940), pp. 13, 21, 31. See the references to India (production, national income, etc.) in C. Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (London, 1940).

[7] *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (Washington, D. C.); June 1941, p. 591, *Economist* (London), 12 December 1942.

[8] *Reserve Bank of India Report* (Bombay), 5 February 1940, p. 35, 10 August 1942, p. 29; *Indian Trade Journal* (Calcutta), 18 March 1943, p. 397, 10 June 1943, p. 313.

Other interpretations of the Indian currency expansion may be seen in C. N. Vakil, *The Falling Rupee* (Bombay, 1943); G. D. Birla, *Inflation or Scarcity?* (Delhi, 1943); S. N. Dutt, *Inflation in Right Perspective* (Calcutta, 1943); B. C. Ghose, "Is It Inflation?" (*Current Thought*, Calcutta, April-June 1943); G. S. Beri, *A Review of Price Control in India* (Bombay, 1943); D. R. Gadgil and V. N. Sovani, *War and Economic Policy in India* (Poona, 1943); B. C. Sinha, "War Finance, Inflation and Economic Structure" (*Calcutta Review*, June 1943).

The expansion of note-circulation from Rs. 2,542 millions to Rs. 6,348 millions from December 1939 to 5 March 1943 has proceeded at a higher rate than the currency expansion in England. While the gold element in the cover has remained stationary, the proportion of the total cover to notes has increased from 59·7 to 69·3 per cent. (80·6 per cent. 28 May 1943).

The causes of increase in note-circulation in England as in the U. S. A. are identical. They are to be seen in the increases in war-employment. The total wage bill in the United Kingdom has increased from £1,796,000,000 in 1938 to £3,021,000,000 in 1941.[9] This includes pay and allowances for H. M. Forces (excluding officers). In the U. S. A. total employment (not including the armed forces) in the summer of 1942 was 3 millions larger than in 1941 and 7 millions larger than in 1939. In September 1942 total income payments were at the rate of 116,000,000,000 dollars a year compared with 72,000,000,000 dollars a year in September 1939.

Consolidated figures for the total wage bill in India during World-War II as during other periods are not available. But the enormous increase in employment is an outstanding fact of the present war-economy. In case any and every expansion in note-circulation be described as inflation of currency, its counterpart is to be seen in the inflation of employment. The category, inflated employment or over-emplyment, is as legitimate or unreasonable as inflated currency or over-circulation. There is nothing dangerous inevitably associated with the category, inflation. Not every inflation is sinister. It is a colourless category. Inflation as such is not a curse. There are inflations and inflations.

The "Active" Balance of Trade

The balance of trade in goods in favour of India rose to Rs. 1,039,000,000 in the eleven months of July 1941-June 1942 from Rs. 227,800,000 of the corresponding period in 1940-41. These figures exclude those for the war purchases in India by the Government of England.[10] In pre-depression or rather boom years, for instance, in 1928 the highest balance was Rs. 808,000,000 and in 1929, Rs. 723,000,000. The balance in 1937 amounted to Rs. 432,000,000.

The repatriation of India's sterling balances is but a pronounced symptom of this extraordinary situation. The expansion of currency is inevitably associated with these conditions of the war-economy.

[9] *Royal Economic Society Memorandum* No. 90 (London), May 1942, p. 1; *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (Washington), October 1942, pp. 981, 983.

[10] *Reserve Bank of India Report* (Bombay), 10 August 1942, p. 11; *Annuaire Statistique de la Société des Nations* (Geneva, 1938), p. 217

During the present war the note-circulation of India, England, the U.S.A., Germany, Italy or Japan has not been proceeding on the lines of the inflation practised in Germany and Russia during 1920-22 after World-War I. Those notorious inflations, which ultimately led to the annihilation of currencies, be it recalled, were *post-war phenomena* and were not directly connected with the war operations themselves.[11] The fiduciary cover in India as in England today is substantial and adequate. The currencies are not being mutilated or spoilt in any way. The rates of exchange have been kept stable on account of the large stocks of gold in the Exchange Equalization Fund. The technique of this Fund was unknown or rather not much in vogue during World-War I.

Price-Control in Anglo-American War-Communism

But formally inflationist or not, the economic situation in India has already assumed a disastrous character (July 1942 to June 1943). The price-index is already (May 1943) 325 (1914=100) whereas in England it is near about 170. In India men of fixed incomes have been virtually ruined and the teeming millions have reached the limits of patience.

On the other hand, the war-communism of the Churchill-State in England and the Roosevelt-State in America has drastically controlled the price-structure in the most energetic manner.[12] The Government of India will have to rise to the same height. Besides, the war profits will have to be taxed a hundred per cent. A considerable part of the war-salaries and war-wages paid to the armed forces and industrial workers will have to be withdrawn from circulation by the compulsory savings scheme of Keynes as in present-day England, America as well as Germany. The withdrawal of money from circulation has also to be consummated by loans floated at tempting rates. Last but not least, agriculture and other civilian industries will have to be encouraged with large doses of state finance.

In July 1942 food subsidies in England amounted to £127,000,000 *p.a.* The American budget on food subsidies from June 1943 accounts for $500,000,000 for ten per cent. reduction of price in beef, mutton, coffee, etc. In hyper-developed states war-economy is in a certain measure a subsidy-economy.

[11] See the chapter on Germany in the *Memorandum on Central Banks*, 1913-23 (Geneva, 1924), p. 197, and the sections on Russia and Germany in Helfferich, *Money*, Vol. I (London, 1927), pp. 240-42. See the chapters on Russian and German currencies in B. K. Sarkar, *Economic Development*, Vol. I (Madras, 1926).

[12] For the Indian price-index see the *Indian Trade Journal* (Calcutta), 18 March 1943, p. 442, and the *Reserve Bank of India Report* (Delhi), 10 August 1942, pp. 16-17. *Re* the stabilization of price and cost of living in the U. K. see the *Royal Economic Society Memorandum* No. 90, May 1942, p. 1 and No. 91, August 1942, p. 1. For American attempts in the same direction see *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (Washington), October 1942, p. 981.
See also *I.T.J.*, 10 June 1943, p. 335.

The following statement of the *Royal Economic Society Memorandum* (London, August 1942, p. 1) is yet unthinkable about the financial operations of the Government of India. "Stationariness in the cost of living (*i.e.*, 29 per cent. above that in September 1939) has been made possible," says the *Memorandum*, "by subsidies which neutralize even the increase in tobacco and alcohol duties." The lag between the Government measures in England and India is immense.

War-Communism in Germany, Italy, Turkey and China

Price control is quite common in Germany. During April-September 1942 as we find in Singer's "German War Economy" in the *Economic Journal* (London) for December 1942 enforced price reductions became decidedly more numerous than before. Among other things they included razor blades, wire and cable products (with £10 m. *p.a.*), soup-powders, beer, electric bulbs, wine, furniture, etc. The Price-Commissioner declared that a certain loss of "substance" (capital and property) must be accepted by businessmen in war-time and that there could be no guarantee of any particular rate of profit. On the other hand, subsidies were granted to several industries and trades. Sisal and binder-twine, barley, milk, eggs, poultry, honey, straw, potato, oil seeds, etc. enjoyed these favours.

Inflation is a universal science or art. So is the control of inflation. The Italian measures against the evils of inflated currency and price as prevalent in the middle of 1941 were identical with the Anglo-American and the German. In July of that year 60% was imposed as tax on increases in the value of real estate. Prices were maintained at previous level. Dividends were limited to specified rates. Measures were taken likewise to control the prices of securities.

War-communism is fully developed in Turkey.[13] In February 1941 the Government established an office with a million Turkish pounds with the object of buying, stocking and distributing commodities, regulating prices and controlling profiteering. Since 1940 etatization has been going on in all fields from mining to agriculture, from harvesting to pricing.

The etatization of industrial finance is the principal feature of Chinese economy in normal times. War conditions have advanced the state control and direction along all fronts, as one understands from the annual reports published by the China Information Committee from Chungking about war-time China.

[13] "Turkey Since 1940" (*Bulletin of International News*, London, 19 September 1942), *China After Five Years of War* (Chungking, 1942); "War-time Economic and Social Organization in Free China" (*International Labour Review*, Montreal, December 1942).

The Paradox of War-Economy

Inflated production and inflated employment can be easily understood as the inevitable features of a war-economy. But war-economy exhibits a paradox. It consists in the fact that the markets are invariably marked not by the signs of glut in goods, over-production, over-supply, but by its exact opposite. The dearth of goods, shortage of supply, even disappearance of commodities belongs to the normal economy under war conditions. This situation is as valid for England and the U.S.A. as for Germany and Japan.

The paradox of this war-scarcity or war-famine, so to say, is explicaple, other circumstances remaining the same, by a fact genenerally overlooked by ordinary citizens including economists. We are forced to envisage the distinction between military manufacture, commerce or agriculture and non-military ("non-essential"), *i.e.*, civilian manufacture, commerce or agriculture. The distinction between military transportation (railway, shipping, motor) and civilian transportation is also important in what is known as the "war-effort" or war-economic complex.

In India, for instance, the total output as well as the total railway and other transportation have increased tremendously on account of the war stimulus. This is known to or rather can be very well guessed by the man in the street. But the output and the railway-shipping-motor services available to the non-combatants (non-essentials) or civilians have come down at the same time no less tremendously.

The figures pubished in the *Indian Trade Journal* (Calcutta), a Government weekly, do not indicate this increase. They point on the contrary to decline. We are to understand that the production and transportation of the military economy are not included in these statistics.

Reduction in Civilian Production, Trade and Transportation

In India reductions in the loading of railway wagon amount to 17-20 per cent. For the two years 1941-42 and 1942-43 the shipments of coal, grains, oil seeds and cotton, etc. from 1 April to 20 February were as indicated in the following table[14]:

Items	1941-42	1942-43	Reduction percentage
Coal	1,117,000	930,000	—16·8
Grains	652,000	524,000	—19·6
Oil Seeds	205,000	160,000	—22·0
Cotton	150,000	124,0 0	—17·3
Misc. Small Wagons	1,455,062	886,597	—39·1

[14] *Indian Trade Journal* (Calcutta), 18 March 1943, p. 401.

Wagon-shortage in the transportation of civilian goods by February, 1943 was conspicuous. Its impacts on the price-structure cannot be over-emphasized.

In bales of 400 lbs. inter-provincial trade in cotton came down from 1939 to 1942 as follows[15]:

Item	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
Exports	1,032,000	787,000	725,000
Imports	1,032,000	787,000	725,000

No reduction can be more palpable than that from 1,032,000 to 725,000 bales in three years.

In the sugarcane crop the average of five years down to 1941 was 5,174,000 tons.[16] In 1941-42 the croppage was reduced to 4,371,000 tons. Other circumstances remaining the same, the calamitous sugar shortage or famine as well as "black markets" and extraordinarily high prices in sugar may then be easily accounted for.

India as Base for War Theatres

India is a, if not *the* main base of supply for all war theatres in Asia and Africa and to a certain extent also in Europe. This would be obvious from the speech of Chairman Joseph of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation at a meeting in London on 26 May 1943.[17] With the help of the Government of India, the Corporation had lost no time, said he, in drawing on India for the supplies urgently required. Prompt shipment of Indian wheat had spared Persia the rigours of famine in the spring and early summer of 1941. Persia had received from India foodstuffs such as sugar and tea, and manufactures such as cotton piece-goods. Shipments ranged in bulk from several thousand ton lots of cement to small parcels of pharmaceuticals. Syria and Palestine were the other Middle East countries which have drawn on India for supplies. Turkey received iron and steel, cotton yarns, hessian cloth, jute bags, rope and hides.

Soon after the Corporation began to work in India, the Germans invaded Russia (June 1941). It was clear according to the U. K. C. C. that part of Russia's needs could be met from India. Orders were at once placed through the usual trade channels for a long list of commodities, all for prompt delivery and in very large quantities. The list covered such articles as hessian, gunny sacks, jute rope, cotton, canvas, hides, shellac, *atta* (coarse wheat flour), groundnuts, pepper, tobacco and graphite.

15 *Indian Trade Journal*, pp. 418, 419.
16 *I. T. J.*, 18 March 1943, p. 411.
17 Reuter's report published in the *Hindusthan Standard*, Calcutta, 27 May 1943.

Explaining the excessive rise in the price of cloth, the representatives of the cotton industry from all over India, who assembled in the Millowners' Association at Bombay, declared on June 1 1943 as follows: "The fault lies rather on the large quantity of a thousand million yards being permitted to be exported in 1942 which, together with the large requirements of defence services, left only one thousand eight hundred million yards for consumption in India."

A somewhat parallel case is furnished by the U. S. A. Reuter reports that on 10 June 1943, warning Americans that they "must prepare for a tighter food situation," the Deputy Administrator of War Food Administration, Hendrickson, said that "25% of United States 1943 food supply would be earmarked for military and lease-lend needs."

He added, "The proportion may have to be still greater." In two years, he said, the United States had shipped about 4,500,000 tons of food to the Allies. "In 1941 about 4% of our food was used by our armed forces and for other United Nations. In 1942 about 13% of the food went for those purposes."

Exports to war theatres are not, as a rule, publicized in the press or by radio. They are military phenomena.

War-Price and Food Shortage in India

The geographical location of Bengal and Assam in Easternmost India as the immediate neighbour of Japan, *i.e.*, of Japanese-occupied Burma, plays a no less leading rôle in the unusually high price of rice and other foodstuffs. We encounter here a bit of *Geopolitik*.

The evolution of price-index in India (at Calcutta with July 1914=100) is as follows [18]:

1938	95	1941	139
1939	108	1942	185
1940	120		

The sensational year is 1942-43. Detailed developments are indicated beolw:

1939 July	100	1942 June	182
„ Sept.	114	„ July	182
1940 July	114	„ Aug.	192
1941 July	150	„ Sep.	196
„ Dec.	154	„ Oct.	209
1942 Jan.	155	„ Nov.	227
„ Feb.	153	„ Dec.	238
„ March	153	1943 Jan.	250
„ April	157	„ Feb.	253
„ May	169	„ May	325

[18] *Indian Trade Journal* (Calcutta), 18 March 1943, p. 442, 10 June 1943, p. 335.

The sharp rises started about the end of the first quarter of 1942. From 169 in May the index rose to 325 in May 1943. For the cereals (foodstuffs) alone the index for the corresponding period rose from 126 to 473. The beginning of such an abrupt rise happens to be synchronous with the conquest of Burma by Japan and the threatened invasion of Bengal. The *Gestalt* was no longer economic, it became military. It is in this *milieu* that the price-structure has to be studied.

The price of rice per maund (80 lbs.); for instance, is reported from New Delhi on 5 May 1943 in the dailies of Calcutta as follows:

Towns	Price	Towns	Price
Chandpur (East Bengal)	Rs. 32-5-0	Raipur (C.P.) ...	Rs. 8-6-0
Purnea (Bihar) ...	,, 13-0-0	Bezwada (Madras) ...	,, 7-11-0
Bareilly (U.P.) ...	,, 10-4-0	Cuttack (Orissa) ...	,, 6-8-0
		Larkana (Sind) ...	,, 6-4-0

The price varies from Rs. 32-5-0, the highest point, in East Bengal to Rs. 6-4-0, the lowest, in westernmost India (Sind). The correlation of price to the proximity of Japan is obvious at the first sight. In commercial geography today Chittagong is already virtually a port of the Far East. The greatest food shortage is noticeable in the areas likely to encounter the first shocks of invasion. The shortage may be rashly and naïvely explained as but due to hoarding by householders and/or by profiteers. Panicky hoarding is perhaps a fact. Profiteering is also a reality. Besides, *humanly speaking*, corruption, malpractices, anti-social and immoral methods may, be assumed as a matter of course. But this is not all. The shadow of Japan, a military phenomenon, is no less an economic factor in the rice market today.

Nor can other considerations about food shortage in Bengal be ignored. In Mahatab's calculations the total rice crop of Bengal for 1942-43 falls short of the normal demand of the population by 45-50 per cent. J. M. Datta's estimate of deficit, as quoted by Sinha, is between 46 and 56 per cent.[18]

Denial of Facilities to the Enemy

Deficit in croppage must not be made too much of, however. It was proclaimed at public meetings in Calcutta (6-8 May 1943) by Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Chief Minister of yesterday in Bengal, that the removal of foodstuffs from the easternmost areas to safer zones had been consummated under instructions from higher authorities. The object was to prevent

[18] See the pamphlets by U. C. Mahatab, *Food Problem in Bengal* (Calcutta, 23 February 1943) and B. C. Sinha, *A Note on the Present Food Situation in India, specially in Bengal*, (Calcutta, 29 March 1943). See also *Do We Produce What We Eat?* (Commercial Museum of Calcutta Corporation, March 1943) as well as *Food Problem in Bengal* by B. C. Sinha and H. C. Ghosh with a Foreword by S. P. Mookerjee.

the Japanese from seizing and utilizing the cereals in case of their eventual invasion of East Bengal and Assam. A war-measure like this can be well understood. This is the policy of "denial" of facilities to the enemy and corresponds somewhat to the "scorched earth policy" of Soviet Russia practised against the invading German army.

We in India are aware that the "scorched earth" policy is not a discovery or patent of Soviet Russia. It is as old as our hoary *Mahabharata*. Russia is out-Russiaed in the measures recommended by the statesmen and political philosophers of ancient India in order to prevent the invading armies from making use of the crops, houses, waters, etc., in the country.

Be this as it may, the denial policy is said to have been started already in April-May 1942. Statistics do not, of course, exist. The magnitude of the removal of foodstuffs from threatened areas cannot be easily assessed. In theoretical analysis this can be treated as one of the many factors in the price-complex. No quantitative value can be attached to it.

Not until the war measures are officially declared and publicized by Government as "open secrets," *i.e.*, not before several years after the end of hostilities can a real "weighting" of the diverse factors be attempted with a reasonable approximation to reality.[20]

The War Effort of Socialist States

In regard to war-effort a distinction must be made between England, U.S.A., Germany and other hyper-developed countries on the one hand and an under-developed or backward region like India on the other. The hyper-developed countries are under normal, *i.e.*, peace conditions socialistically well organized from the metropolis to the meanest commune. The hierarchy of officials is extensive and all-pervasive. Socialistic administration implies a large number of employees,—municipal, rural, cantonal, local and national.

It is only through such regularly paid employees that the state can function as a socialist organism. The control of the state over the daily life of citizens is possible simply because of the vast hierarchy of government and semi-government servants. "Rationing," "grow more food," shop-control and other projects can thereby become automatic and smooth-sailing affairs.

The doses of socialism in Indian public life and administration are as weak as the doses of capitalism. Indian villages and towns are not

[20] *Cf.* O. Nathan and M. Fried, "Consumer Spending, Inflation and the Wage Earner in the United States" (*International Labour Review*, Montreal, February 1942).

used to the regime of municipal or state socialism to any mentionable extent. It is possible for the existing administration to pass a law or order, however inconvenient its effects on the citizens be. But the means by which it can render help to the needy individuals while submitting to the law do not exist.

The category, socialism, is to be taken as covering any and every form of state interference and state control. Virtually every country in the world today is normally (*i.e.*, in peace times) socialistic in this sense. Germany and England are the highest in the scale of contemporary socialism. India is almost at the bottom of the same ladder.

The war-economy is compelling India to look forward to socialism as a powerful instrument of *arthik unnati* (economic progress).[21] The shortcomings of the Indian economic structure reveal the lack of socialism as much as that of capitalistic modernization. One of the greatest lags in India, as inevitable in her present world-economic equations, lies in the field of socialism.

The Supply Factor in Price-Mechanism

Some more intensive analysis of the price-mechanism is necessary. The index numbers of the "cost of living" (food, fuel and light, clothing, rent, and miscellaneous) since 1939 (the beginning of World-War II) are interesting. The base is being taken as 1929=100. India is being exhibited in the background of ten countries comprising a few neutrals. The figures within brakets at 1939 and 1942 indicate the indices for food prices as distinguished from the "general cost of living" (which comprises four items in addition to food).

The following table gives the index numbers as indicated above[22]:

Countries	1929	1939	1942 (June)
Germany	100	82 (79)	90 (Aug) (88)
Great Britain & Northern Ireland	100	96 (92)	122 (Sept.) (105)
U.S.A.	100	84 (72)	96 (Sept.) (98)
Sweden	100	101 (100)	139 (June) (143)
Canada	100	83 (75)	97 (Oct.) (98)
Japan	100	123 (103)	149 (Aug.)
Turkey	100	71 (62)	125 (March) (147)
Australia	100	89 (89)	105 (May) (99)
New Zealand	100	98 (104)	109 (July) (110)
Spain	100 (1936)	154 (178)	248 (June) (319)
India	100	106 (114)	152 (June) (177)

[21] The war-communism or war-socialism of England as of Germany and Japan has been well described in *World-Economic Survey, 1939-41* (Geneva, 1941). See also W. F. Crick, *An Outline of War-Time Financial Control in the United Kingdom* (London, 1941).

[22] *International Labour Review* (Montreal, January 1943, pp. 126-31. See also the *Annuaire Statistique de la Société des Nations* (Geneva), Table 124 for the Index Numbers of Cost of Living.

The figures come down to the first, second or third quarter of 1942. In India the index for food price has risen from 114 to 177 during 1939-42 (June). In England the index is 105 (September 1942) and in Germany it is 88 (August 1942).

It would be wrong to attribute the price-structure exclusively to the influence of socialistic administration, *i.e.*, the pressure exerted by the state. The total supply *in esse* as well as *in posse* is not an unimportant factor in the mechanism of price-fixation. In spite of the socialistic price-control England has not been able to bring the price of food or cost of living down to the German index. The supply conditions in the U.K. are perhaps not as easy as in Germany. The supply factor is undoubtedly important in regard to many countries, *e.g.*, the neutrals like Turkey, Spain and Sweden.

Goods, Currency and Civilians

In regard to the dearth of civilian goods (including foodstuffs) in India the following factors have to be envisaged:

1. The paradox of war-economy,—the most fundamental in every belligerent and neutral in a war-ecology.
2. Exports to war-theatres and elsewhere.
3. Removal from threatened zones to safer areas.
4. Deficit in croppage.
5. Hoarding by profiteers and honest householders.
6. Anti-social and immoral practices such as may be believed to be ubiquitous but cannot be easily proven in a court of law.

The quantitative assessment of each of these items is possible only to persons in intimate contact with the Army General Staff, the semi-military branches of the Civil Administration, and business magnates. To the ordinary statisticians and economic theorists most of these discussions are likely to be mixed up with speculation and guesswork.[23] The circumstances under which a dispassionate "weighting" can be undertaken do not yet exist.

The war-economy is the *Gestalt* of four phenomena. One is the enlarged circulation of money. The second is the reduced supply of civilian goods. The third phenomenon, then, is the high price of the goods available to the millions of non-combatants. To counteract this third item England, America, Germany, Italy, Japan and other belligerents as well as neutrals have adopted the methods of totalitarian

[23] See in this connection the discussions in H. W. Spiegel, *The Economics of Total War* (New York, 1942), chapter on "Food Stuff in the Military Economy."

control. This control system is the fourth item in every war-economy. It comprises not only restrictions of all sorts but measures for providing the civilians with their requirements in a rationed manner as well as at reasonable prices. The supply of cheap goods to civilians is an item of war effort. It belongs normally to the system of economic control by the state. It is mainly this fourth item of the war-economy that is considerably lacking in the Indian situation at the present moment. In K. Brandt's "How Europe is Fighting Famine" (*Foreign Affairs*, New York, July 1941) we have a detailed statement about the rationing and other beneficial measures adopted by the European Governments in order to serve the people. Obviously, rationing is a great factor in the rationalization of resources and supplies.

Social Aspects of Inflation

In the economics of inflation understood as high price, the social consequences are not to be taken as invariably injurious. The effects on the diverse classes of consumers or producers and on diverse income-groups are not identical. Not every body or every class is an economic sufferer. Every economic phenomenon is indeed a class phenomenon. A re-distribution of wealth takes place on account of changes in price-structure. This is not necessarily harmful to the country as a whole, *i.e.*, indifferently to all the classes of people at the same time.

Nay, it is often a very useful aid to economic dynamics. The democratization of *arthik unnati* (economic progress) is facilitated. The elevation of the standard of living of certain classes is likewise rendered possible because of this re-distribution of wealth. Every class-transformation is to a certain extent a positive social good.

But in the meantime the inconveniences and miseries are solid realities. They can be accounted for but can by no means be explained away. Fortunately enough, the doctoring of these miseries is possible. Whatever be their magnitudes,—they can be combated and are being combated everywhere, as would be apparent in *World-Economic Survey 1939-41* (Geneva, 1941). India also will have to follow suit.[24]

The administrative machinery of India is inadequate. But she can still adopt measures calculated to mitigate the evils of maldistribution and insufficient supply. The best of a bad case has yet to be made.

[24] F. Penham, "War-time Control of Prices" (*Economica*, London, February 1942).

SOCIOLOGY AND INDIA'S PROGRESS

CYRIL MODAK

TO the average Indian, if indeed such matters distract his attention at all, 'progress' means little more than a strange legend of the West. We ourselves are so caught in the deadly routine of tradition and necessity, "*Aham Brahmasmi* !" and "*Ji Huzur* !" that it seems wanton to indulge in the luxury of thinking about 'progress.' While, according to Christopher Dawson, "Today to the average European, and still more to the average American, Progress consists in the spread of the new urban-mechanical civilization: it means more cinemas, motor cars for all, wireless installations, more elaborate methods of killing people, purchase on the hire-system, preserved fruits, and picture papers." And, smile as we may, many there be in our intelligentsia who pay extravagantly for the cheap varnish of European civilization. Thus varnished they are sure of their worth. They are certain that they are modern and progressive. They want for India the same urban-mechanical civilization that has become a nightmare to Western sociologists. By disuse their thinking apparatus seems to have become so jammed that they cannot understand that imitation is the way by which slaves flatter their masters. They cannot see that internationalism does not imply murdering one's own Motherland. They cannot grasp the simple fact that progress can never be achieved by sedulous aping. India has her scheme of values. She will reject many features of Western civilization which fall below her standards. She will adopt anything that proves valuable in the European tradition and fits her needs. But India will sign her death-warrant if she imports European civilization *in toto*.

Having said this one must hasten to add that modern developments in the West can teach us an important lesson: Science must be harnessed for the service of mankind. It cannot be denied that human existence has been transformed by the mechanical control of the forces of nature. The application of science to daily life has produced innumerable conveniences. Man's conquest of those natural forces which he once dreaded and deified has increased the speed of progress. But it is to be regretted that this new type of industrial-scientific civilization has led to an ironically gigantic increase both in magnificence and squalor, life-saving devices and death-dealing weapons, humanitarianism and savagery. This need

not have happened. The Machine will always be a valuable servant but a vicious master. So long as the machine is made to serve humanity its advantages will be assured. So long as conscience is not banished from the affairs of men the machine can never master man. Only when man allows himself to be mechanized does he hand over his superiority to the machine. The Machine is deified. Disaster follows. It must.

Men of the keen perception of Ruskin, Tolstoy and Gandhi have naturally preached a radical turning away from the victorious but anti-human civilization of the West and a return to the simplicities of the past or a flight to the forest. Such prophets have been laughed out of court by most of their critics as wanting to put the hands of the clock back. Yet, many of those who glory in the astounding scientific and material progress of the 19th and 20th centuries have been driven by the relentless logic of events to concede the sheer instability and the grave dangers of such an order. Few sober thinkers would be rash enough to identify the technical and industrial advance of modern Europe with progress in its deeper and wider sense. For it is recognised today that a civilization may prosper externally and grow richer and more pompous while it is degenerating in social integrity and cultural vitality. A weakening of social integrity leads to the break up of a social unit into rival classes, castes, sects, factions. There is conflict. The channel of life is clogged with corrupt tastes and corrupt morals. That way lies social catastrophe.

It is significant that a theory of progress was first clearly enunciated at a time when a spiritual ancestor of Woodrow Wilson was conducting his propaganda for the formation of a kind of League of Nations to ensure stable peace in Europe. It was at the end of the war of the Spanish Succession. This theory of progress as enunciated by Abbe de St. Pierre and elaborated by Turgot and Condorcet was deeply dyed in the Cartesian faith in reason. It was almost exclusively intellectual. Morals were regarded as the static element which had little direct bearing on human progress. The effect of religion was considered positively retrograde. In the historic religions these thinkers saw, and with good reason, only a melancholy story of superstition, deception and cruelty, thus anticipating by two centuries the Soviet attitude to religion. It must be remembered that it was the century kindled to new life by the spirit of the Enlightenment. Newton had announced his discovery of the nature of the physical universe. Locke and Condillac had formulated their science of human nature. Rousseau, Turgot and Pierce had proclaimed their social theories. The apocalypse of reason prepared the atmosphere for the hope of a Millenium, when, as Condorcet said, "the human race, freed from all its fetters, withdrawn from the empire of

chance as from that of the enemies of progress, would walk with firm and assured step in the way of truth, of virtue and of happiness."

In their bold attempt to refashion Society, the leaders of the French Revolution drew much of their inspiration from such ideas and such expectations as also from the thongs of Voltaire's satire. The Committee of Public Safety in France in 1794 issued a decree saying, "The transition of an oppressed nation to democracy is like the effort by which nature rose from nothingness to existence. You must entirely refashion a people whom you wish to make free, destroy its prejudices, alter its habits, limit its necessities, root up its vices, purify its desires." This ought to give a timely clue to Indian leaders struggling for the emancipation of India today. 'Refashion' in relation to the people of India will mean much more than it did to the leaders of the French Revolution. It will mean not only the eradication of the slavish submission to tyranny but also of the snobbery bred by the caste system. And we must not forget that the infection of caste has found its way into Muslim and Christian circles also. The tradition of *subordination* must be replaced by a new habit of *co-ordination*. The caste-ridden Hindu subconsciously expects subordination from outcast Non-Hindus as he does from Hindu outcastes. Refashioning the Indian people will mean decommunalization, the dissolving of communal differences. But since communalism arises out of caste barriers, it is this irrational caste system which must first be abolished. Only then can India hope to be rid of the plague of communal bitterness. Refashioning the people of India will mean not only blasting inherited prejudices but also nurturing a strong desire for change.

The relation of Sociology to the other sciences was first worked out systematically by Auguste Comte. Up to his time he was the most representative of the new school of social science. He held that there is a regular evolution from the abstract and general to the concrete sciences, *e.g.*, from Mathematics to Astronomy and Physics and thus to Chemistry, Biology and Sociology. The final stage of scientific advancement is reached, according to this theory, in the development of Sociology, which makes it possible to make an organic construction out of the findings of comprehensive scholarship. This concrete and positive science of social units and of external nature in relation to these units would automatically supersede all the theological and metaphysical systems which had held the field in the absence of the scientific synthesis. Had Economics and Psychology developed in Comte's time as they have today to the status of Science, with their experimental methods and their instruments of precision, he would assuredly have incorporated them as contributory sources. It is surprising that recent sociologists have

neglected the important contributions of Economics and Psychology as much as they have.

True to his logic, Comte dismissed the whole of 18th century social philosophy along with the work of the revolutionary reformers. For him it was vitiated by metaphysical postulates. It was negative. It was destructive without being constructive. Curiously enough, this champion of measurable truths did not feel compelled by his own logic to abandon abstract ideas of humanity, civilization and progress. He did not find it necessary to focus his attention on a study of individuals and particular social units. On the contrary, Comte held with peculiar obstinacy that Humanity was the only reality and the individual human being was an abstraction. The law of progress, which was the ultimate fact of positive social science, determined all the visible changes in particular social units. This mystical Law of Progress could easily slip into the divine seat. Comte had foresight enough to insist that the function of science should be strictly limited to the service of humanity. He condemned the pursuit of knowledge as end in itself. Nature was to be interpreted not as inclusive of society but in terms of the social whole. This was a revolutionary inversion of the popular notion and would have had far-reaching effects had Comte hit upon the need for an economic interpretation of history.

After all, what is called the 'economic interpretation of history' is nothing more than a scientific attempt to work out a revolutionary Sociology in terms of the dialectical movement of matter and the conflict of opposites in society. Much of its unpopularity is due to its truthful habit of calling a spade a spade and not for ideological deficiencies. Unfortunately, much of its popularity depends not on the accuracy of its methods or the soundness of its theory but on the excitement of its practice. However, Comte's logic soon landed him in painful contradictions from which he sought relief in coddling his pet vagary of Humanity, much as an old man might coddle his pipe.

Comte boldly set his face against all theological and metaphysical conceptions. But he did not arrive at a materialistic theory. By a circuitous route he finally came to a religious system which represented the temporal order as subordinate to the spiritual power invested in the priests of Humanity and Progress. Science and action were both consecrated to the worship of a quasi-transcendent Great Being. This seemed to many of his contemporaries a pitiable anti-climax. The 19th century took no interest in such a solution. The rationalist and the liberal were equally disgusted with Comte's religious *volte face*. In its hour of unopposed advance, 19th century Science rejected his arbitrary limitations

on the scientific method. Thus a line of investigation which at the start bid fair to anticipate Marx ended as a philosophical fiasco.

European thought for the rest of the 19th century was influenced by Herbert Spencer's theory of evolution. Social progress for him was one instance of a cosmic law. It was identical with the law of physical and biological evolution. The objective and rather pessimistic views of Malthus influenced Spencer and Darwin. In fact Spencer's theory of the 'survival of the fittest' was the Malthusian law of the effect of population on food-supply fashioned into a biological principle. It was a blind non-ethical progress that Spencer envisaged. God and Conscience were alike left out in the cold. Crozier's impressive paraphrase of Spencer's evolutionary doctrine is worth quoting. "The progress of civilization," says he, "figures merely as one illustration more of a law that has necessitated alike the formation of solar systems from misty nebulæ; of mountain and meadow and river from the original murky incandescent ball of earth; and of the bright and infinite variety of animal and vegetable forms from a few primitive and simple germs: to the great Law of Evolution whereby all things that exist must pass from the simple to the multiform, from the incoherent to the coherent, from the indefinite to the definite; the law which, while determining not only that the egg with its simple uniform composition shall gradually unfold itself into the chick with its complex, coherent and definite system of functions and organs; that the worm 'striving to be man shall mount through all the spires of forms'; determines also that human society itself, which starts from the condition in which each family wanders about alone and isolated, and each man is at once warrior, hunter, fisherman, tool-maker and builder, shall pass through the nomadic stage in which several families are united in a kind of chieftainship, where the king is at once priest and judge, and the priest at once judge and king, and eventuate to those complex states of modern civilization where labour is carried to its minutest subdivision and every function finds its appropriate social organ."

In such an outburst, inflated with all the enthusiasm of the convert, laying a tax on the reader's patience, Crozier proclaims Spencer's theory. It was a theory destined to bring more evil than good in its wake. It provoked idealists to fury. It animated militarists to new aggressions. The 18th century philosophers, even when they were materialists, placed man in a category above and apart from the rest of nature. They hypostatized human reason into a principle of world development. But Spencer's evolutionary theory set man back into nature and at the mercy of the same blind forces which rule the material world. Even if one is pessimistic enough to feel that man is at the mercy of Chance, one cannot

rule out man's capacity to judge between right and wrong. The application of Spencer's doctrine to social life encourages individual and racial egotism and logically leads to Imperialism, Fascism and Nazism with their militaristic regimes. It excuses the subversion of those human principles of justice and liberty and peace which must be the foundation of any stable world-order in which progress can be ensured.

Spencer fought shy of these extreme conclusions. He sought refuge in a somewhat inconsistent theory which made the system of political centralization and military organization (corresponding to the brain and the nervous systems in the human organism) subordinate to industrialism which is said to be the social counterpart of the nutritive system. How cheerfully he would let the stomach govern the brain and have both sign a pact against conscience! That is what has actually happened on a world-wide and devastating scale during the last thirty years. It has happened in the Kaiserean as well as the Hitlerean Wars. Twice on both sides appetite and skill have combined against justice, freedom and humanity. Both times both sides claimed that they were fighting to rid the world of the monstrous evil of exploitation and war. Did Spencer's theory of the survival of the fittest have any effect on the European passion for conquest and the exploitation of 'backward' people?

Huxley, in his turn, insistently emphasized the non-moral aspect of the evolutionary process. He even defended Calvinistic pessimism as more in keeping with scientific truth than the facile optimism which regards human nature as essentially good and the cosmic process as divinely progressive. The clash of forces, apparently governed by no rationality or purpose, inflicting upon individuals, social groups and entire nations wrongs unmeritted and unmitigated misery, has from time immemorial driven sensitive poets and philosophers, historians and prophets to a pessimism which is more humanly heroic than all the callous faith of well-fed religious optimists. If Huxley did nothing more, he at least punctured the mischievous faith in an All-Wise Providence who supposedly gives to each individual and nation just so much of good and ill as He in His just wisdom thinks fit. If Huxley did nothing to relieve men's despair, he certainly aroused them from their religious stupor and faced them with the grim fact that progress demands the sustained courage and determination to push on in spite of the unrelenting opposition of non-moral forces, despotic and dark.

By decoying man's attention to an All-Wise Providence, Religion has kept the human race in a fool's paradise. By giving man an optimistic faith in an omnipotent Divine Ally, Religion has kept the human race

from developing its capacity to face odds and conquer without looking for aid to some mythical heavenly Power. Religion has made men world-forsakers but not world-shakers. It has given men the courage to face martyrdom but not the courage to face facts. It has persecuted scientists. It has stoned prophets. By deception, called 'idealism' inaccurately, Religion has kept the world's great masses too blissfully weak to overthrow the tyranny of Mammon. Who can wallow in religious optimism under the dread shadows of a cruel Fate? Life, tasted to its dregs, makes pessimists of us all.

In our day, Bertrand Russell has given eloquent expression to the same defiant pessimism. If for no other reason, for its inspirational value the passage deserves to be quoted in full. "Brief and powerless is man's life;" says Lord Russell, "on him and all his race the slow sure doom falls pitiless and dark. Blind to good and evil, reckless of destruction, omnipotent matter rolls on its relentless way; for man, condemned today to lose his dearest, tomorrow himself to pass through the gates of darkness, it remains only to cherish ere yet the blow falls, the lofty thoughts that ennoble his little day; disclaiming the coward terrors of the slave of Fate, to worship at the shrine his own hands have built; undismayed by the empire of chance, to preserve a mind free from the wanton tyranny that rules his outward life; proudly defiant of the irresistible forces that tolerate for a moment his condemnation, to sustain alone a weary but unyielding Atlas, the world that his own ideals have fashioned despite the trampling march of unconscious power."

Such Promethean courage is the only ally, the one mainstay of the progressive elements in society which wish to solve the problems arising out of environmental conditions at any point in history. It may lack the glitter of religious faith. But it gives the capacity to work towards greater social efficiency knowing that failure may lurk at any corner. Prof. Macmurray suggests with good reason that before society can produce science there must be a socially effective group of people who have abandoned the slavish outlook that seeks its canons of rightness in the authority of the past, and have adopted instead a self-reliant attitude of making the future better than the past. Man's story on this planet proves nothing if it does not prove that an increasing mastery of material resources is a primary necessity for security, prosperity and progress. This demands a scientific knowledge of the material world on which techniques of control can be based. But the development of science inevitably brings about radical changes in social habits and at the same time offers tremendous advantages to those who own the

financial means of utilizing scientific techniques for the exploitation of material resources.

Thus on the one hand Religion, clinging to custom and tradition, opposes Science and on the other hand Capitalism opposes those who would apply scientific techniques to the transformation of social practice. Science produces an alliance between Religion and Capitalism and a divorce between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' Capitalism hands over the 'have-nots' to Religion to be kept conveniently fettered by custom and tradition, the caste system and communalism, religious hopes and moral ideals. While Religion gives its divine support to the 'haves' to exploit nature and labour with the aid of Science.

A sociological study of Religion, whether in India or Europe, will bring to light many instances of the use of the magic of religion to keep the dispossessed masses from revolt; to protect the authority of the rich and powerful; and to oppose any progress that threatens the *status quo*. Why else does Religion preach charity instead of justice, meekness instead of equality, salvation from sin instead of all-round emancipation? Telling its followers to seek the protection of God, it turns to Caesar for protection. Financiers are always Caesar's friends. Religion must keep in their good books also. Science provides financiers with factories for the exploitation of the masses and Religion keeps the masses drugged with divine opium while they are being bled to death. The rich grow more powerful. The poor become weaker. Society advances in corruption. Rival financiers in different countries want to win in the desperate race for foreign markets. Caesar must protect the interests of his friends. States come into conflict. The world finds itself plunged into war. Religion stands by as a recruiting officer. That is why Religion has failed to influence social ethics.

The conflict between the urge for progress and the acquisitive instinct, between the desire to gain mastery over the material world and the fear that an equitable distribution of the benefits of science will revolutionize society, has produced worldwide want in the midst of plenty, and international savagery in the midst of civilization, and has brought Europe, robed in the arrogance of power, to the verge of collapse. And until this conflict is resolved European progress will be like a runaway engine heading for disaster. With thunder and lightning it may flaunt for a day its staggering scientific achievements and an insolent sense of superiority which grows out of these achievements. But like thunder and lightning it will come to nought after it has drenched the earth in blood.

What can Sociology do to help resolve this conflict between an insane acquisitive passion and the human urge for progress? For some

two score years or so Sociology has frittered away its time in studying social diseases and not social health and the factors conducive to it. It has concentrated on crime, unemployment, prostitution, prison-reform and the like. This approach has certainly done some good. It has enabled a few people to see that social conditions are largely responsible for social diseases. But it has not enabled them to understand the essentials of social hygiene. It has done nothing positive to show what the Norm of social efficiency should be, or how this Norm may be made effective in social adjustments. Instead of being the science of social efficiency, Sociology has allowed itself to become a course in social pathology. It has looked to Religion to furnish the Norm. Religion has looked to Caesar. Caesar has looked to his supporters. They have looked to their pockets. Gestures have been made. But things remain much as they were. Perhaps, if Sociology had championed the Norm it would have fallen foul of the powers-that-be. Any bold professors who helped to further the revolutionary function of Sociology would have lost their *sinecures*. It is safe enough to point out isolated remedies for isolated social maladies. Even the beneficiaries of Capitalism and Imperialism will gladly give large donations to finance such remedial projects. It is a slave to their conscience. It allows publicity. But if Sociology is the science of social efficiency it cannot fulfil its function without showing that social efficiency demands an equitable distribution of wealth and equal opportunities for every individual and group.

Sociology should help us to understand the characteristic conditions which determine relative social behaviour and how those conditions may be altered by progressive social action. The progress of India must depend on the ability, courage and persistence with which we work to alter those conditions which are responsible for unprogressive and at times deleterious social behaviour. While we must use scientific techniques to the full, it must be done on some plan of decentralization such as Gandhiji envisages in his Village Movement. While we must adopt the radical outlook of making the future better than the past, we must conserve those values of our national culture which can be re-interpreted in the context of changed modern needs. We need an Indian Sociology which is not afraid to form a defensive and offensive alliance with Economics, using the findings as well as some of the methods of radical economists. It may conserve whatever it finds of value for modern needs in Kautilya's *Arthasastra*. It may adopt Gandhian principles where these principles lend themselves to a progressive theory of social adjustment. It may find many useful pointers in the writings of Radha Kamal Mukerjee or Benoy Kumar Sarkar or Durjati Prasad

Mukerjee. It may find equally fruitful suggestions from Russian, British or American thinkers. With scrupulous impartiality it should throw light on the educational, cultural, communal, industrial and rural problems. It should be Indian in as much as it deals realistically with the modern Indian situation. It should be Sociology inasmuch as it elucidates the principles of efficient, progressive and wholesome social living. It should be a mirror of revelation, offering a sociological criticism of the past and the present whereby India will be able to steer a more successful course in decades to come.

It should be the high function of Indian Sociology to offer the world the technique for mastering the Machine for common human ends, for making human and social life fuller, freer and happier. It should be the high function of Indian Sociology to show the world a way out of the horrors of periodic wars. It should be the high function of Indian Sociology to offer the world a Socialism which ensures economic and social equality without the leonine violence of communistic methods, which ensures unity without the regimentation of uniformity, which ensures internationalism without the destruction of the beautiful and noble in national cultures.

Sociology must tend to become a revolutionary theory. Then it will fulfil its destiny of guiding social units towards that real progress which sometimes will mean turning the socio-economic order upside down. It may have to be the John the Baptizer to the Herod of Imperialism and Fascism. It may have to be the Krishna to the Kamsa of caste. At every stage of development it will revolutionize social ethics. It will infuse new life into social practice. It will animate optimists and pessimists to work with the zeal of the revolutionary and arouse the national as well as the international will-to-progress. It will help in creating the conditions which can furnish the required momentum. It will carry the ensign of Progress into the heart of the enemy camp.

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA

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EVERY educated Indian knows the chief events of the period from April, 1756 to July, 1757, from the death of Alivardi to the murder of Siraj-ud-Daula. The unfortunate young man who presided over the destinies of Bengal during this period is not a misty shadowy figure. Biography has overwhelmed history and his shortcomings in private life have received as much publicity as his mistakes in public policy. The mysteries of his harem have been unravelled with as much gusto as the intrigues of his courtiers. The conclusion drawn is that he was a young man "wholly evil." The pampered favourite of the old Nawab, who was brought up in the lap of luxury, who was accustomed to the gratification of every whim and who had never a wish thwarted, could not perhaps be anything else. We almost feel that the revolution of 1757 stands justified on a moral plain.

But we realise at the same time as we look at other principal actors in this tragic drama that we should not be prejudiced in our judgment of men and events by stories of vice or crime whether of the victor or of the vanquished because neither Clive with his heroic pose, nor Mirjafar with his successful intrigue, deserves any regard on moral grounds. The state of things was really disgusting, repulsive and, in one word, rotten. Young Siraj, "too ignorant and headstrong to use management with his dislikes "precipitated events but the train was laid and the explosion would have come even if Siraj were a saint.

From Akbar to Aurangzeb the unity, political and administrative, of most of India was a historical fact. The Great Mughals were effective rulers. But under the Later Mughals the provinces became more or less independent. Gujrat, Bengal and the Punjab showed what the breakdown of this admininistrative unity meant. The scramble at Delhi and the quarrels at Lahore facilitated the work of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The rival nobles who fought for the Subahdari in Gujrat helped its conquest by Maratha marauders. In Bengal Sarafraz was killed by Alivardi in 1740, and the usurper's grandson was ousted by Mirjafar in 1757, thus facilitating the rise of the British power. The Bengal revolutions thus do not stand in isolation and what took place in Bengal in 1757 was not in its origin very different from what was taking place in other parts of India.

It was the consequence of chaos inevitable on the decline of an empire. The army in Bengal as elsewhere in India, was full of Persian, Central Asian and Afghan soldiers of fortune who were eager to place their swords at the service of the highest bidders. Attachment to the reigning house was now gone. These soldiers looked to their immediate chiefs. They had no patriotism because India was not their patria. As the Timurids ceased to be efficient, a free field was opened to the jealousies and rivalries of nobles, many of them upstarts, and court intrigues became the most important feature of political life. Mirjafar is not to be regarded as a betrayer of his country and his people and Siraj as the defender of national interest against foreigners. The conspiracy was regarded by those Indians who took part in it as balancing one chieftain against another —" Siraj-ud-Daula, the grandson of a usurper, against Mirjafar the most powerful noble of the province."

Clive did not command the course of events in Bengal as Dupleix did in the South. He was commanded by it. But judged by expediency was Mirjafar, an experienced man, justified in allying with the British for the subversion of the authority of Siraj ? Dupleix's victories had raised the status of the European from the subordinate to the rival of the local Indian chieftains. It was left to Clive to make the European the master. The story of the murder of Nasir Jung and of the protectorate established by the French at Haiderabad and by the British at Arcot was not unknown in Bengal. Alivardi himself was not unconscious of this source of danger. He had kept them within bounds. Ghulam Husain tells us that Alivardi was apprehensive that a court faction would perhaps utilise the services of Englishmen and his successor's fate would be that of Nasir Jung. Ghasiti Begam, the aunt of Siraj and her adviser Rajballav, appreciated the power and prestige of the English Company and wanted its help to oust Siraj but the young Nabob was too quick for the conspirators. Shaukat Jung, a cousin of Siraj, revolted at Purnia. He was advised to make an alliance with the English against Siraj. But he was too headstrong and precipitate and was overwhelmed. The third attempt to oust Siraj was also made with English help and was crowned with success. Siraj was thus anti-English from an enlightened sense of self-interest. He had felt from the beginning that he should reduce the power of the British in Bengal so that they might remain satisfied to trade in it " on the footing they did in Jafar Khan's (Murshid Quli) time." If Holwell is to be believed Alivardi had also contemplated " reducing their trade on the footing of the Armenians." Mirjafar could not be altogether unconscious of the fact that in case of success his fate would be that of Muhammad Ali and Salabat Jung. He had before made his approaches to Shaukat Jung. He could

not perhaps think of the Marathas. The Bargi incursions and the fate of Mir Habib the traitor were fresh in his mind. Mirjafar's memory is branded with infamy because he took a shortsighted view, victory being his only horizon. He seized the chance of present success without counting the certainty of future dishonour.

It would be wrong to think that Bengal stood isolated from the rest of India and what took place here was not influenced by what happened in other parts of India. Siraj is pictured as a bundle of nerves, a man of unhappy indecision, now inimical to the British, now friendly to them, now intent upon befriending the French, again soon after suffering them to be crushed by the British. But the career of Siraj cannot be studied apart from what was taking place at Delhi and Lahore or at Hyderabad and Madras. Ahmad Shah Abdali in his fourth Indian expedition reached Lahore on the 20th December, 1756, entered Delhi on the 28th January, 1757, sacked and massacred at Mathura on the 1st March and retired from India in April, 1757. There was for sometime a rumour that he intended advancing eastward. Calcutta was retaken by Clive on the 2nd January, 1757, an alliance was concluded by Siraj with the British on the 9th February. With the opposition of the Nawab suspended, Clive could attack and take Chandernagore on the 14th March. The dates are significant. The Nabob dreaded an invasion by the Afghans and dared not alienate the British. Clive thus took the fullest advantage of the situation caused by Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion. Intrigues at Hyderabad to supplant Bussy also helped the British in Bengal. That brilliant Frenchman was guiding in the interests of the French the affairs of the Court of Hyderabad. He was dismissed as a consequence of the intrigues of Shah Nawaz Khan on the 20th May, 1756 and was not reinstated until 20th August, 1756. Malleson points out the significance of this event. "We can easily imagine the effect with Bussy trusted by the Subahdar and his Court, secure in his position at Hyderabad and in the Sarkars, could have produced either in Bengal or at Madras. There would have been nothing to prevent him from co-operating with Pondicherry authorities against Madras itself or from moving rapidly with 800 or 1000 veteran Europeans through Orissa into Bengal. From making one or other of these attempts he was frustrated by his three months' campaign in the heart of the Deccan and by that alone. Though victorious in that campaign his confidential intercourse with the Subahdar and his ties with the other chiefs had in the interval been rudely shaken, and the native chieftains established by him in the Sarkars seized the opportunity to rid themselves of the rule of France. Instead, therefore, of operating against the chief possessions of the English, events compelled Bussy to direct

all his efforts to the re-establishment of French power in the provinces ceded to Pondicherry."

Bussy had at one time written a letter to Alivardi recommending the French at Farashdanga (Chandernagore). One ofthe reasons assigned by the Calcutta Council for joining the conspiracy against Siraj was that he was writing frequently to Bussy. The successful intriguers had before the battle of Plassey induced Siraj to send the Frenchmen with him away to Behar and after Plassey Siraj was flying to join them when he was captured. He definitely intended utilising the services of the French against the British. Thus we must not forget that the entry of Ahmad Shah Abdali at Delhi and the conspiracy of Shah Nawaz at Hyderabad were more responsible for the British victory at Plassey than the distant cannonade which led to it.

The unfortunate fate of the young man betrayed at a moment when he could have rid his dominions of his enemies, must arouse the sympathy of every one. Mirjafar who supplanted him sank into a mere pageant and our sympathy for Siraj is all the greater on that account. It is inevitable that an unworthy attempt to blacken his memory during all these years with halftruths, falsehoods and emphasis on irrelevant facts should be followed by a chauvinistic reaction in which he is painted as a noble national hero. That he had generous impulses is undoubted. He could forgive and forget after a triumph. He treated honourably the family of Shaukat Jung and Ghulam Hossain, author of Siyar-ul-Mutakkherin, testifies to his clemency which he did not expect. Rajballav and his son Krishnadas who played a prominent part in the conspiracy of Ghasiti Begam and embroiled him with the British were generously forgiven. Even the vainglorious Holwell has put it on record that the Nabob treated him kindly. Not even the most violent critic of Siraj can prove that he was personally responsible in any way for the Blackhole tragedy, even if we admit this doubtful fact. As it is, he stands alone among the actors in the tragic drama as one who did not attempt to deceive. He certainly does not deserve obloquy but as the most consistent opponent of the rise of the British power he deserves, inspite of his ignominious failure, the sympathy and respect that is due to an unfortunate fighter in a lost cause.

HUMOUR IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

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HUMOUR refuses to be defined. We can perceive it concretely when an occasion arises, but cannot absolutely define it in clear-cut language.

Perhaps the most complete and accurate description of the comic is given by G. K. Chesterton when he calls it the perception of the incongruous. Anything that is inconsistent, ill-proportioned, out-of-the-way, abnormal or unusual in any manner, excites laughter. If, for instance, we meet a man in the street walking on his hands with his legs up, we shall at once burst into laughter. Even such a simple sight as a man wearing a shirt with unusually long sleeves or a multi-coloured coat, is an object of fun, as evidenced in the circus clown who often excites mirth in the audience by his outlandish clothing.

Generally the incongruity or inconsistency of conduct from which we derive the comic element is of an innocent and harmless nature. Lamb's picture of the chimney-sweep boy with his white set of teeth peering through his black sooty face, is an illustration. Aristotle observed the same element in the comic. "The sense of the ridiculous," he says in *Poetics*, "arises from our perception of a defect, a painless and harmless depravity, moral or physical." And the illustration he cites is the comic mask, much employed on the Greek stage, "a formless and perverted object which can be looked upon without pain." Emerson also wants to emphasize the same aspect. The comedy, he defines, is "the intellect's perception of discrepancy." But this discrepancy or defect should be or at least should be regarded by the perceiver as harmless. Weakness and foibles in others, when moral judgments are passed on them or emotional sympathies are brought to bear on them, only excite our hatred or pity. But when falsehood and vice are seen from a distance, seen from the point where our moral sympathies do not interfere, they become innocently ludicrous. To quote Emerson again, "the essence of all jokes, of all comedy, is the non-performance of what is pretended to be performed."

Sometimes, however, a humorous picture or a comic situation is not purely innocent, but has an element of pain and suffering, an element of pathos, implied in it; and still the thing is ludicrous and makes us smile. Thus the sight of an old or mad beggar in the street, half-clad or dressed

in rags and wailing in a piteous manner, is an object of fun not simply for little children but even for decent elderly people. Many things which are intrinsically pitiable and even disgusting, like drunkenness or madness, have still their comic aspect and may be and have been handled, and handled nicely, in the comic way.

This expression of mirth at another's suffering betrays an atavistic barbaric instinct in us, which adults try to suppress and children being less sophisticated freely give vent to. Thus psychologists have traced the origin of laughter to the instinct of cruelty inherent in human nature. The pleasure that we enjoy out of a humorous situation is the pleasure at the sight of or imagining the possibility of suffering or discomfiture of another person. If we find a man chopping out the very branch of a tree on which he sits, we laugh at the foolishness of the man imagining to ourselves the impending injury to be sustained by that stupid fellow. This imagination of another's suffering is secretly accompanied by a feeling of pleasure. The philosopher Bergson develops this theory in his famous treatise on Laughter.

Another school of psychologists would like to attribute our mirth at the sight of defects in others to the sense of our own superiority or infallibility. Certainly this is the obvious reason when a little boy working out an easy sum laughs at the failure of his dull-headed class-fellow. Hobbes seeks to analyse the comic sense along this line. "The basis of our perception of the ludicrous," he says, "is a sense of our own superiority suddenly awakened by our being confronted with inferiority in others."

From the illustrations of humour at the foolishness of conduct it is evident that humour involves some confession of human weakness. And this incidentally affords a clue to the distinctions between different gradations of the comic from broad farce, burlesque and satire to refined wit and humour.

Comparatively lower in the scale are farce, burlesque and satire, which are physical and personal. Wit and humour are higher, being abstract and impersonal.

Farce is the crude expression of an excess of vitality: the swelling out of mirth of the purely physical sort, say by titillation. Burlesque and satire are a little more complex: the expression of vulgar pleasure in attacking others. Addison, himself one of the greatest humorists in English, calls these by the general term False Humour. This, he says, is "given to apish tricks and buffooneries. He delights in mimicry so much that it is all one to him whether he exposes by it Vice and Folly,

Luxury and Avarice, or, on the contrary, Virtue and Wisdom, Pain and Poverty. He ridicules both friends and foes alike. He pursues no point either of morality or of instruction, but is ludicrous for the sake of being so. Being incapable of anything but mock representations, his ridicule is always personal and aimed at the vicious man rather than at vice." Addison also presents humour, both False and True, allegorically in one of his Spectator Essays (No. 35): "False Humour, the imposter, is the child of Frenzy and Laughter. Laughter is a daughter of Folly, Frenzy is the son of Nonsense, the daughter of Falsehood. ... True Humour is the youngest of an illustrious family. His parents are Wit and Mirth, his ancestors Good sense and Truth." So, according to Addison, Humour is Wit with an element of Mirth superadded.

Wit is defined by Dryden, another great wit in English, as a "propriety of words and thoughts to the subject." But more illuminating is Addison's own description when he differentiates wit from Judgment. "Wit," he says, "is characterised by the perception of affinities, the assemblage of Ideas; whereas Judgment depends upon analysis, the separation of ideas which have an apparent likeness." Thus "comparison" and "surprise" are the two primary elements of wit. There should be resemblance in the ideas, not a very close and obvious resemblance, but a little remote, so that it may give us a gentle shock of surprise. Thus when the poet tells us that the bosom of his mistress is as white as snow, there is no wit in the comparison; but when he adds, with a sigh, that it is as cold too; it then grows into wit.

The differentiation between Wit and Humour is a very common subject-matter for literary criticism. And the most prompt answer usually put forth in such a discussion is some epigrammatical statement like this: Wit proceeds from the brain; Humour from the heart. This means that Wit is an intellectual perception, while humour is an emotional faculty. Certainly both are confessions of human deficiencies. The difference lies only in attitude: the one is dispassionate, the other is sympathetic. Humour exposes some human weakness or contradiction of life; and in this exposure the humorist himself is entangled. Wit, on the other hand, is a powerful intellectual twist. It shows the human intellect exerting its full strength, though upon a small point. Wit assumes the superior position of a judge and laughs at others from a safe and detached position. The humorist laughs at humanity including himself. He laughs at others and is himself laughed at. Then, since Wit is aimed at a point, it is clear, distinct and vigorous, though rather superficial in its penetration. Humour, because it is directed at humanity at large, is rather vague and broad, subtle and indefinable.

Humour is a characteristic feature of the British character. Britishers, especially Englishmen, are scarcely sentimental or emotional in their daily life; but they have a rare keenness in perceiving the subtle elements of humour. They are not sad, moping pessimists. But they are hardly seen to laugh aloud hilariously. But at the same time they show the singular faculty of perceiving the ludicrous of things, and, under their outward seriousness and sobriety, making sly remarks which make others smile.

And this peculiar national characteristic is amply reflected in the literature of the country throughout the ages in its long and glorious history. Humour has always been one of the two subtle emotional elements, the other being pathos, which have silently leavened English Literature, especially fictional literature including poetry, novel and drama. In every English play or novel worth-reading these attributes are so copious by their presence or absence, as the case may be, that they are inevitably recognised or missed by even the most careless reader. The first remark that a cursory student of English literature is likely to make about Charles Lamb or Charles Dickens is that these authors are sparkling in humour and pathos. The most superficial reader will not fail to notice the complete absence of the sense of the comic always in Christopher Marlowe and for the most time in Shelley. Some writers are weak in humour but strong in pathos; while with others the conditions are reversed. Only a gifted few like Shakespeare show assured mastery of many moods and can touch us with equal certainty to mirth or pity.

English Literature shows an abundance of the comic element in its varied productions of every age. Old Anglo-Saxon literature was certainly pre-eminently heroic in character, pagan in outlook, fantastic, dull and sadist. But even this sombre atmosphere and melancholy monotony of Old English is occasionally lightened by flashes of humour, though of a very crude, grim nature. Even in the midst of the din and cries of battle, some of the reproaches of Beowulf's mother to the monster Grendel come to our ears with an obtuse humorous ring.

The introduction of Christianity with its brighter outlook on life and its philosophy of love infused a tone of liveliness into literature, and opportunities for the indulgence of the comic element were opened up in every direction. Thus in Middle English we find plenty of humour almost in every type of literature excepting only prose. Chaucer, the father of English poetry, is also perhaps the greatest of English humorists. A man of varied experience and wide sympathies, he finds food for humour in situation, in character; in dress, in manners; in speech, in professions; and in every possible aspect of life of his contemporaries.

So in the earliest forms of the drama—the Miracles, Moralities and Interludes there was an efflorescence of the comic element, which had only to see its natural development and fruition in Elizabethan Drama reaching its climax in the wizard products of Shakespeare. Even the scriptural and didactic stories of the mysteries and moralities sometimes show an ill-proportioned sprinkling of boisterous mirth; and the interludes were frankly farcical pieces introduced during the intervals simply for the sake of diversion and amusement. There the Devil, a serious character, had a light attendant, Vice, that now and then played tricks and buffooneries on him in the manner of the circus clown or the professional court jester. This figure of Vice contributed a distinct humorous type of character, the Clown or the Fool, which was to be a constant element in English comic as well as tragic plays, as for example, Jacques in *As You Like It* and the Fool in *King Lear*. As regards the humorous in Elizabethan Drama its peculiar pervasiveness is proved by the phenomenon that it not only predominates and buoys up the professed comedies but shows a nice interfusion or percolation even into the obvious tragedies, most probably providing a comic relief in the midst of high tragic tensions, as for example, the rôles of the Porter in Macbeth and of the Grave-diggers in Hamlet.

The total suppression of all mirth and merriment by the iron hands of the Puritans during the Commonwealth regime was followed by an equally violent swing of the pendulum to the opposite extreme. So Restoration literature, specially comedy, shows the degeneration of humour into vulgarity, indulgence in obscenity of conduct and speech in the name of lightness and humour. The Augustan age, which was an age of ascendency of reason and intellect, saw another slight reaction when humour in the hands of Pope, Dryden and Swift was sharpened into satire often amounting to bitter personal vindictive.

The Romantic Revival with all its emphasis on sentiments and emotions, was, it must be confessed, a rather serious age in English literature. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats and all those great poets are singularly lacking in humour. In Byron, humour, if there be any, only follows the traditional satiric track of his master Pope.

But if in the early nineteenth century poetry disappoints us in so far as the humour element in literature is concerned, we are pretty well compensated by prose, especially fiction and the essay. Scott in his historical novels shows a fine under-current of subtle humour in his perception of the social eccentricities in the life of the past; while the novels of Dickens show the same humour element in his criticism of contemporary social life, only tinged with a note of bitter pathos all through. From the

time of King Alfred up to the end of the eighteenth century English prose had been employed more or less as a dull medium for serious literature, like history, politics or philosophy. Now for the first time there evolved a new type of humorous prose literature in Lamb's immortal *Essays of Elia* and Hazlitt's inimitable Table Talk, which bequeathed to posterity the half-serious, half-humorous stuff known as the periodical essay which fills up much of the space in our magazines and journals to-day.

Then the mid-century ushered the glorious Victorian Era, which, however, with all its seriousness and religious spirit, fully abounds with wit and humour in fictional works, as for example, the homely humour of Jane Austen and Thackeray among the earlier writers and the rather aggressive, strong and shrewd humour of the Bronte sisters, Meredith, George Eliot and the later generations. The humorous element in Carlyle's prophetic essays and criticism is of a bitter, sardonic type. Among the contemporaries again we find that humour has taken a definitely ironic and satiric turn by way of social criticism, veiled or open, in the dramas of Shaw, St. John Hankin, O'Neill or in the novels of Galsworthy, D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley.

From this rapid survey of the history of English Literature from the viewpoint of the humour element, it is apparent that different ages and different writers have shown subtle and wide gradations of humour varying in range and quality of emotional effect.

Sometimes it is mere fun, sometimes broad farce; often crude satire, and subtle irony. On occasion it is all mirth, boisterous and hilarious. And at rare moments the smile is only a superficial sprinkling or veneer, deep soaked in pathos and tears.

Sometimes humour consists in the caricature of some oddity or superficial weakness or foible of character, as for example the funny picture in one of Ben Jonson's dramas of a man who gets irritated at the slightest noise. At other times the defect or weakness is deep and typical, as for example, frequent caricature of the old senile father trying to control his romantic youthful son (Ben Jonson's drama *Everyman in his Humour*: *Old Matthew*), the avaricious merchant (Face in Jonson's *Alchemist*), the old affectionate nurse (Juliet's Nurse in Shakaspeare's *Romeo and Juliet*), the pedagogic schoolmaster (Euphronius in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*) or the typical Englishman applying his strong sense of propriety even to his wife (Soames Forsyte in Galsworthy's *Man of Property*).

The comic element may lie not simply in the conception of character but may also lie in the clever development of situation intended to give us an unexpected shock. A very common method of creating humour in situation is the device of the Disguise, much employed in Elizabethan

comedy. A king moves about as a friar ; a prince may serve as a menial, or what is more frequent, a girl, preferably of noble birth, may disguise herself as a boy or page to serve one she loves (as for example, Viola of Shakespeare).

Sometimes again humour consists in some peculiarity or twist in language, as for example, quips and plays on words, funny alliteration, habitual mispronunciation of words, equivocation in meaning, dialectal speech which hears ludicrous to urban people, colloquialism, cockney, and so on. Malapropism or the ridiculous, unseasonable misuse of words by Mrs. Malaprop in Sheridan's *Rivals* is an illustration.

Often again the humorous element in a novel or drama is purely local and topical. It was certainly much enjoyed and appreciated by the men and women of the time, by the contemporaries of the writer, in the light and background of contemporary life. But those humours have lost their sharpness and their edges have been blunted, as it were. Thus many of the jests in Elizabethan drama or even in a Victorian novel, at which a contemporary audience or reader would roar with laughter, have become comparatively dull for later generations and quite meaningless for foreigners who have no admittance into their peculiar atmosphere and spirit.

As humour has varied in the range and quality of its emotional appeal so it has also been used for diverse purposes by different writers down the ages.

On rare occasions, as in a normal healthy writer like Shakespeare, humour serves as it ought to serve, the sole purpose of amusing us, providing delight for its own sake. With some, apparent humour or joviality of temperament is only a perpetual and habitual hypocrysy, a forced tempo or pose, an outer shell or covering which the writer himself has created for himself to ward off or rather to hide the inner sadness, melancholy, or pessimism that haunts his mind. Lamb, perhaps the greatest of English humorists, or at least unique and unparallelled in his humour, belongs to this small group. Intensely tragic in personal life and moody by temperament, his writings sparkle and scintillate with bright, vivacious humour which inevitably verge on pathos, a queer mingling of smiles and tears.

These are instances of good uses of humour. But it has also been misemployed often in various ways. Sometimes humour has been enlisted in the service of indecency. Thus much of Restoration Comedy revelled in sheer immorality in the name of humour.

Often again humour is used to turn to ridicule what should arouse our sympathy, as for example, the satire of Swift, Pope, Dryden and Byron. *Gulliver's Travels* certainly contains an inexhaustible fund of wit and

humour ; but unfortunately this is directed against humanity at large to produce the effect of ridicule, to chastise and castigate our common weaknesses, and to make the whole human race appear small and ludicrous. Pope had immense potentiality of really good humour, which an irony of fate perverted into bitter satire. Something of a decrepit, himself incapacitated from best social enjoyments, he hurls sly, caustic humour on women in general throughout his satiric writings.

Sometimes again humour is abused in producing a sense of revulsion rather than of mirth. As we read, for instance, the comedies of Ben Jonson, wallowing knee-deep in vulgarity of speech and conduct, we feel repulsion at the depraved moral tone of the show. Much of the humorous satiric writings of the modern social critics in literature, beginning with Butler's *Erewhon* to Shavian dramaturgy has a sharp sweetness soaked to saturation in bitterness. There is humour, no doubt, but it is sprinkled all over with vitriolic acid.

As humour has been often prostituted in the service of immorality, so it has been sometimes lent to the service of morality too. Too much comic handling is morally most effective, and for this reason humour has always been a potent instrument for the correction of manners and castigation of vice. In every age social reformers have used this excellent medium for pointing out social foibles in an apparently light mood but with an undercurrent of seriousness. The essays of Goldsmith, Addison and Steele, the dramas of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and Dekker, or the sociological writings of Shaw, Galsworthy and Aldous Huxley, all have such a high moral purpose behind the veil of humour.

SCIENCE IN THE BALANCE

DEV PRAKASH NAYAR, M.A.

"He, who has imprisoned the rays of the sun, has not been able to turn the dark night of life into morning."..... Iqbal.

Darkness in the midst of light, impotence in the fulness of strength is the paradox of the world created by science. It has been both a blessing and a curse.

To realize the former one can turn to any side of life. Distance has been conquered, the journeys of months are performed in hours. Man wings the air, he swims the water—only at a rate unimaginably faster than any bird or fish could do. He has prepared artificial water. He has prepared artificial air. Artificially controlled water he uses to drive his mills, to light his lamps, to press his cotton, to drive his engines and so on. He compresses the air and expands it at will, reduces it to its elements, uses it to blow his tyres, to lift his water, fill his dirigibles, heat and cool his rooms, to live in artificial conditions, and to do a hundred things. The elements have become like wax in his hands to mould in whichever manner he likes. Of earth he is equally the master. He changes its composition. By proper rotation of crops he can considerably check the natural process of exhaustion. He can increase its productivity to an incredible extent by the use of modern fertilizers and specialized methods of food production could be so stepped up that some of the states of Central America could supply all the foodstuffs required by the whole world. Fire, too, has been thoroughly enslaved. Man uses it to cook his food, to boil his water, to iron his clothes, to ripen his fruit, to melt his metals, to drive his engines and so on. Man may as well cry with Faustus: "Knowledge, indeed, makes a god of me!" A god, indeed! For he climbs the heights, explores the ocean depths, conquers old age, disease and death. The lightning is his slave. Heaven yields up her stars. They pass before his eyes like sheep, are numbered by the master, and roll on. The tempest is his steed. He strides the air.

> "And the abyss shouts from her depth laid bare
> Heaven hast thou secrets ? Man unveils me, I have none."
>
> ("Prometheus Unbound.")

He has greatly conquered the necessity to labour, pushed forward production at a tremendous rate, and cut down the prices of articles to an

amazing degree. Today we have things and at a rate of which our ancestors could never even dream.

But material is not the only advantage science has bestowed on man. Besides making an increased volume of thought available to every man through the cheap printing press, science has created a new way of thought. It has freed man from the ignorant, awe-struck impotence in the presence of the unknown. The universe is knowable, and man can and should know it. It has bred the heroic temper by doing away with the doctrine of Grace, the theory of pre-destination, and other emasculating doctrines. Man has come to believe :

> " It matters not how strait the gate,
> How charged with punishments the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate :
> I am the captain of my soul."

It is to such confidence and not to the medieval sense of impotence that the mysterious has yielded its secrets. The fog of mystery has rolled away before the steady, searching gaze of science.

And yet the old Indian adage : " Where there is a rose there is bound to be a thorn " is true. Unmingled bliss is not the characteristic of any gift to imperfect man. Iqbal's prophecy : " O the dwellers of the West, your civilization will commit suicide by its own dagger " seems to be coming true. The triumph of science is becoming its trap, and successful man is succumbing to the effects of his own success. The confidence itself which science has given man, and which has been praised above, has become a bane by becoming over-confidence.

The over-confidence created consists in the belief that matter is all and it is explicable by reason. Science forgets that there are more things in earth and heaven than it can dream of. This over-simplification results in falsification.

For example, by depending too much on reason science has left the elements of mystery and emotion out of its conception of the universe and man ; and hence the diagnoses of the scientists of the world's ills and their remedies have convulsed rather than soothed. In rationalising the universe they destroyed God, the Mysterious, the Unknowable, the Unthinkable, the Omnipotent. But they forgot the craving of man to depend upon something immeasurably above him, to which he can offer limitless, irrational devotion. Hence the destruction of God resulted only in His replacement by false gods ; religion was replaced by mischievous doctrines as Nazism and Fascism. Again science said that sexual intercourse was purely a mechanical act. Marriage was a contract

not a sacrament. Birth control and licentiousness became rife. Homeless husbands, wandering wives, helpless children, childless mothers, reprobate men and reprobate women constituted the mass of seething humanity. Home was no longer the refuge of man but his seat of torture, impelling to murder and suicide. Science was perplexed. It realized, or it ought to realize, that jealousy, sense of possession and the sanctity of the marriage tie are realities, not superstitions. It is because of the neglect of the same fact that the scientist fails to realise that machine has done a disservice rather than a seryice to the worker. With the help of a machine a worker can do a work quickly, yet it is no longer accompanied by that artistic pleasure which, working by the hand gives and which, much more than, makes up for the fatigue involved in the longer work. Man ultimately lives by emotions, which have to be taken into account in any calculation of life. The meddling intellect, indeed, misshapes the beauteous form of things. It not only destroys beauty, it introduces positive hideousness into life if it is allowed to usurp the place of emotion. Reason has a place in the discovery of truth, but it is not all. Truth is the result of the seer-like vision of the whole man attuned to the verities of life.

Reason alone, indeed, is a very treacherous guide to truth. One can reason any way. It is in fact a handmaid to desire. So it leads into meshes that do not resolve. The rationalist comes to the conclusion that nothing is absolute. True, life is changing. But we require the eternal as a foothold in this world of change. The human mind instinctively believes in and craves for permanence in the midst of change. Not finding it by reason it despairs: "Son of man, you cannot know or guess." This sense of impotence, this sense that man is a worm, an imbecile, creeps upon us as we read through modern literature. And it is helped by the discovery of the position of the universe in the cosmos and of man in the universe. He is not important enough to be "ever in his Great Task-Master's eye," but a J. Alfred Prufrock, "a tiny speck on a tiny speck." So the very gift of science, science itself takes away. Dependence on reason as the sole guide to truth undermines confidence in another way, too. This flexible and corruptible guide to truth, presents so many sides to a question without any means of choosing between them that the powers of action are paralyzed; and we have the modern man so caught up in the web of his own philosophy as to have been incapable of deciding so far between the good and the harmful.

The second fault of science is that it depends too much on the material. This breeds a tendency to neglect the spiritual; and we have

the ridiculous spectacle of the seeker of the paths of stars incapable of travelling in the realm of his own thoughts. Incapable of understanding himself, he becomes confused and restless. That is why his whole scheme of enjoyment is based on escape from self rather than on self-expression or self-indulgence. Incapable of feeling the life in their own thoughts, men crave for a substitute living, for an external life, whose crudeness enables them to feel that they live. Indeed, a perpetual need for stimulus is the inevitable outcome of the poverty and vulgarity of the soul. Hence we have the dismal spectacle of the various sons of success engaged in the fruitless task of pursuing ever-elusive happiness. For they neglect the fact that the sources of hapiness lie within; and inward poverty seems to be the first condition of success in this material and mechanical world of science.

Impoverishment of the soul is not only due to the mechanical and materialistic character of the world created by science but also because of its speed. We have no time to "stand and stare," to think and feel deeply. The intense watchfulness of a Hardy, the passive receptivity of a Wordsworth, the long porings of a Lamb over Shakespeare and the deep and long thought on human life of Shakespeare himself are becoming more and more impossible every day. And what is true of great minds is still truer of the average man. A factory hand has a much less appreciation of nature than a villager. "Haste makes waste" is nowhere truer than in the realm of aesthetic appreciation.

Speed is also the enemy of deep feelings. The ties that bind require time to take root, while haste nips in the bud the "deep and primeval sympathies" by which we live and have our being. We are the poorer for the weakening of the domestic ties and the almost complete loss of the communal life. The selfish individualism of the modern world contrasts in curious ugliness with the beauties of the old world. Not to speak of feelings for a fellow villager, which used to exist, we have not feelings for, sometimes not even the acquaintance of, our fellow-neighbour. In a town like London, where the speed of modern life has reached its maximum, sometimes it so happens that in one house festive cymbals ring while death spreads her pall in the next. It is a tragic end to the hopes of God according to those who believe, "It was for fellow-feeling that God created man; otherwise for obedience the heavenly beings were in no way insufficient."

Not only that, the mechanical character of the world science has created destroys in man initiative and originality, that is, his creativity, the quality which makes the poet Iqbal claim for man the position of a co-worker with God in the completion of the universe. Indeed, in

attempting to live by bread alone man has thrown aside the better part of himself—a curious sacrifice on the altar of science, which professed to come as a torch-bearer to the world.

Even materially, its biggest claim, science creates such an unstable equilibrium which inevitably leads to war, that fire which engulfs and burns all the bestowals of science in the midst of hectic laughter at the tragic cry of puzzled man. Science seems to snatch away in the very act of giving. Machine leads to unemployment, and the consequent starvation and degradation to millions of human beings. In other words, it takes away bread from the very mouths it professes to feed. Those whom industry can employ are not left unscathed. Brought from the healthy air of villages they are huddled together like sheep to die of consumption bred of smoke, congestion and malnutrition—their happiness destroyed on account of immorality consequent on such close living. Much has been done, especially in the West, still much remains to be done. On the other hand, while it fetters these by their poverty, it fetters others by their wealth. Too much money, with the crudity of the soul which generally cohabits with the modern millionaires, is a dangerous possession which destroys the possessor. Industry, indeed, pampers some, while it starves others.

Outside it leads to imperialism. Industry in order to be successful requires ever-expanding markets in order to avail of the economics of large-scale production. Hence the race for markets and the exploitation of the weaker nations—"civilizing," as it is called. To control them economically it becomes necessary to gain political control. Imperialism is the inevitable outcome of capitalism. The opportunities offered to the strong nation are too many to be humanly resisted. This in turn brings self-consciousness in the down-trodden nation, and racial hatred is born.

Then starts another phase: inter-imperial rivalries. Each imperial country tries to avail of the ill-gotten gains of the others as well, who try to keep her out of their own field of exploitation, and hence start closed-door policies and mounting jealousies, which inevitably lead to war. This happened in the last Great War and this has happened in the present war, and this will happen again and again till mankind learns the difficult lesson that men can only live by mutual help and not by mutual exploitation.

So in the midst of its highest triumph—the past decade has been a period of the most astounding changes—science has kicked us into the abyss; in the very act of promising the brightest prospect so far, science has revealed to us the most hideous spectacle. Science has proved to be the Frankenstein which destroys its own creator. Caught in the smoke and gasping for breath we cry: "O Lord! rid us of this monster."

But we are not the first to be in this mood, though ours is the most despairing one. The rising mercantilism was a terror to the feudal lords; and the doctrine that earth was one of the planets revolving round the sun was felt to be equally dangerous to the Church Universal since it upset the prerogative of Popes to lay down the true and false of the physical world. Science was equally abhorred as a monster by the craftsmen of the nineteenth century. Yet it was regarded as a blessing by the craftsmen and merchants of the Renaissance. The science of Newton had the approval of the whole English nation, as the latter could use it more and more to her own benefit. The Royal Society of Science had the patronage of the King. The conclusion is that science has been a blessing to those who have been able to make use of it by changing their social system in accordance with the dictates of science; and it has been a curse to those whose static social order could not obey the call made upon it. For science is intimately connected by action and reaction with the social environment in which it grows.

And we today call science a curse because we have not been able to evolve an ethics suitable to the new closely-knit society that science has created. We have so far tried to graft individual ethics on to society, insisting that the improvement of society consists in the improvement of the individual as individual, in the change of heart in him. We forget that the individual may be the kindliest person imaginable, but socially, and without realising it, he may be a perfect devil. The sense of responsibility of the individual to the individual is not the same thing as the sense of responsibility to the society of which he is a unit. Social groups have needs different from individuals. True, they use individuals in expressing their ethical activities. But they have their own laws of change. We need all the order and system and the empiricism taught us by science to collect the data and study and formulate these laws and have the courage of our convictions to obey them. To attempt to shut out science at this juncture is to court disaster, since, as history teaches us, it is fruitless to attempt to stem the tide of ideas. If we will not control them they will control us.

Thus science is a neutral power, that has been, and can be used for good or ill. But, due to ignorance, it has become today a dangerous toy in the hands of the man-child. It has tendencies which working on human weakness have lured him on to the precipice. The very sight of the abyss makes him shudder. As the wheel of science dips in destruction the man mounted on it cries for it to cease. But the wheel dips. Man is licked by the boiling waves and he cries in agony: "How if all this could be rolled back! If I could be what I once was! If the glamour of science

had not led me astray ! " But the wheel moves on. It dips and dips. But there are two consolations. True, science has today become a strong vice, but strong vice is better than weak virtue since it conceals hope :

" And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
Is the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin
Though the end in sight was a vice I say. "

(Browning : " The Statue and the Bust.")

Power needs to be worshipped, though there should always be an attempt to utilise it for good. And we need not despair as long as the inspiring words of Shelley ring in our ears :

" If winter comes can spring be far behind?"

We must work on with the spirit of Milton's Satan, " to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield. " That is the only path of glory and manhood. Even if we do not succeed in our own time, by striving we will have prepared the ground for future ages to build. This should be an enough, though an humble, contribution to the onward march of truth which requires the sacrifice of millions of individuals and millions of ages. To be dissatisfied with it is to forget one's limitations. Even in the case of utter failure this should be enough consolation for struggle itself yields pleasure to the brave heart. So, though science, indeed, has become a curse to us as we are, yet it is a curse which we would rather not do without, a curse, which it should be our best endeavour to turn into a blessing.

RATIONING AND CONSUMPTION IN OTHER LANDS*

P. CHAKRABARTTY

THE League of Nations has done well in publishing a survey of the measures adopted for the rationing of consumption goods in a large number of European countries. Russia is excluded from it, and, among non-European countries, the U.S.A., Canada and Japan come in only for brief references at the very end. Much the greater part of the publication appropriately deals with food rationing, but the situation with respect to other consumption goods, like clothing, is also discussed briefly. The modifications made in recent months in the rationing systems of the countries dealt with have been concerned with details, not with the basic principles, as these have developed during three years of war. Since the book deals with no controversial issues, very little by way of comment is called for. But the lessons which may be derived from this survey have a basic importance for India at the present moment when schemes of rationing are being contemplated and in some places adopted.

Thus, it must never be overlooked that rationing and other measures of consumption control serve not merely to reduce consumption in order that maximum resources may be liberated for war purposes, or to ensure an equitable distribution of limited supplies, but, what is no less important even in war-time, to secure a minimum diet for every individual. The author of this publication observes in this connection that, "In the interest of the war effort—if for no other reason—it is essential to maintain the health, efficiency and morale of the civilian population at the highest level compatible with available resources." [1] Again, "The distribution systems now developing are more than a method of restricting individual consumption. They aim, in fact, at securing a minimum diet for the population as a whole." [2] It has not everywhere been possible to achieve this end merely through rationing and price control, and we are told that "Governments have had recourse to such measures as the free distribution of essential goods, subsidies to producers, and rebates to consumers, with a view to ensuring an adequate minimum diet to the lowest income groups." [3]

* Wartime Rationing and Consumption—Economic Intelligence Service, League of Nations, Geneva, 1942, p. 87.

[1] p. 8. [2] p. 6. [3] p. 15.

In what manner and to what extent these aims have been realised in different countries, is described in Chapter II, which deals with food rationing. Two main methods have been employed for meeting the varying needs of consumers. Under the first method, individual rations are differentiated according to age, sex and occupation. Germany and the occupied countries of Europe have relied chiefly on this method, while the second method, which consists in supplementing the basic rations by a system of canteen and municipal feeding, is being increasingly resorted to in the United Kingdom. The classification of children below 14 years of age into 8 age-groups for purposes of bread and cereal rationing in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway illustrates the first method. The degree of differentiation among the different groups varies, of course, from country to country, and also according to the relative importance of the particular rationed commodity for each of the respective consumer groups. Thus, milk rations are high for children, invalids and expectant mothers, while meat rations are high for adults and highest for heavy workers. Under the second method, as employed in the United Kingdom, basic rations intended to cover "the average need of the average family" are supplemented by special rations determined by the needs of specific groups. School children, for instance, are provided with milk in schools as well as whole meals; workers are similarly provided with meals at their work in addition to their individual rations. To a certain extent, this mothod of canteen feeding has been adopted on the continent of Europe as well, but for different reasons. "In Great Britain it is designed to supplement the basic rations according to specific nutritional needs although the latter, together with bread (which is not rationed in the United Kingdom) are sufficient to cover ordinary energy requirements.....In Germany, workers appear to have to surrender coupons in order 'to obtain meals at the factory canteens; and in German-occupied areas canteen feeding has been introduced.....because the total food supply has been so drastically cut that ordinary rations are insufficient to maintain working capacity.'"[4]

The degree of success attending the food-rationing measures is, as noted in Chapter I, conditioned by a number of factors in each country: the adequacy of available supplies; the extent of inequalities in the distribution of money incomes; the effectiveness of price control, and the degree of inflation; the adequacy of individual rations, and the extent of co-ordination with other control measures. In the present conditions of food scarcity in this country, each of these factors deserves serious

[4] p. 41.

consideration. The problems arising out of the inability of the poor to buy the full legal rations are acute in Italy and in many of the occupied areas, and they have been felt even in the United Kingdom. These have been solved generally by providing the poor with the means to purchase the full rations. In the United Kingdom, besides free school-lunches, etc., the Ministry of Food has regulated food prices according to "considerations of social policy" by Treasury grants of subsidies. The food subsidies alone amounted to £ 109 millions in 1941-42. Germany and Sweden have also adopted similar policies, though on a less extensive scale.

In general, adequacy of food rations, both in respect of quantity and quality, has been secured to a much greater extent in the United Kingdom, and in some of the neutral European countries than in Germany, Italy, and in the occupied areas. The United Kingdom has not found it necessary to ration the chief carbohydrate foods—bread, potatoes and vegetables—and consequently consumers enjoy a wide degree of choice; rationing is concerned mainly with protein foods, milk and fats, of which adequate quantities are secured to each individual. Special attention has been devoted towards improving the vitamin contents of rationed foods, and, in consequence, "in the United Kingdom the average diet would even appear to be better composed than before the war." [5]

Among continental countries, Denmark and Sweden do not ration milk, potatoes, fruits and vegetables, and in Switzerland bread and potatoes are free. These three countries and Portugal "show no sign of any serious decrease in either the level of consumption or the nutritional composition of the diet." [6]

The food rations in Germany were apparently sufficient in amount up to April, 1942, since when "decreases in the rations...caused a situation which suggests that at least certain sections of the population may be slightly though not critically short of the energy-building foods. The composition of the diet, however, has progressively deteriorated." [7] The situation is much worse in Italy, France, Belgium, Norway, Finland and Spain, where "both malnutrition and undernourishment are prevalent;" and legal rations are not regularly available. Poland, Greece and Yugo-Slavia are the worst sufferers, being more or less in a state of or bordering on famine." [8]

The general results, given above, are based on a number of tables in the text, giving details about the rations in the various countries. On the whole it would appear that the food situation has in no country been allowed to drift, as in Bengal, but, on the contrary, has been vigorously

[5] p. 56. [6] p. 56. [7] p. 57. [8] 57.

and effectively tackled. The aims and methods pursued have been outlined above and it would be a thousand pities if the authorities in India fail to emulate the example of these European countries, none of which, in contrast to India, can so easily become self-sufficient in foodstuffs, specially in wartime.

The rationing of consumption goods, other than food, is considered in Chapter III under four heads, dealing respectively with (*a*) Clothing, (*b*) Housing and household essentials, like fuel and light, (*c*) Miscellaneous necessities and services, like motor spirit, motor tires and railway travel, and (*d*) non-essentials, including luxuries, such as cinema shows, and semi-luxuries, like tobacco, tea and coffee. In these cases also, and particularly in the case of clothing, the account given in the book is highly instructive from the standpoint of this country, specially as "reports from practically all countries that apply clothes rationing indicate that the problems of trade in 'points' and black markets is serious."

It is to be hoped that this publication will be followed at an early date by a more comprehensive one covering the British Dominions, India, Russia, and the U.S.A., besides the countries here dealt with.

TRANSLATIONS FROM RAMPROSAD: THE COSMIC ADVENT

MISS LOTIKA GHOSE

IV*

Dost thou know, who, darkly glooming,
Naked comes, youthful, blooming,
Without a trace of modesty,
The world to charm and hold in fee.

Lithe and lissom, swaying still,
Emerging drunk, from Shiva's will,
Waking fear in Gods and men,
Subduing darkness, beyond all ken.

Her sweet face dissension shows,
A moon, a flower, who knows? who knows ?
Lotus buds her fingers slight
For which the bees, buzzing fight.

Her thighs so firm and polished
A girdle of hands, bleeding red,
Decorated with sweet bells,
Of heavenly secrets, ringing, tells.

One hand pure and beautiful
Holds aloft a human skull,
With the other still she blesses,
Maternal sweet, with soft caresses.

With breasts uplifted she doth stride,
Demon women by her side
Shouting praise, round her neck,
A garland of skulls doth crimson deck.

Her happy face compassionate glows,
From her smiles what mystery flows,
Her eyes with tears sparkle bright,
The earth trembles with her might.

* আরে ঐ আইল কে রে ঘন বরণী
কে রে নবীনা নগনা লাজ বিরহিতা ॥

V*

Who doth dance, woman ? wife ?
Foremost ever in warlike strife,
In naked beauty sapphire blue,
On Shiva's bosom ever in view.

Dark as rain clouds dost thou burst,
Showering the earth with blood athirst,
As on blue waters crimson seen
Giant flowers do float and lean.

Face so pure of moonlike beauty,
Ambrosial laughter so rich and fruity
In death's garb, darkly girt,
To conquer ignorance alert.

At thy feet, two lotus petals,
Soul freedom still the yogi metals,
Out of dross, a vision grand,
In the heart a flaming brand.

* ও কার রমণী সমরে নাচিছে।
দিগম্বরী দিগম্বরোপরি শোভিছে।

WAVE-CREST

CYRIL MODAK

To ride upon the surge's crest
Or jubilantly laugh and breast
The splashing, dashing, crashing tide,
To be the amorous Ocean's bride
And let the wooing water lave
Your limbs and make the eager wave
Stand tiptoe just to kiss your neck,
Anon, a momentary wreck
Be hurled and swept away to shore,
And feel bounding pulse no more.

E'en so the soul's unending quest:
A moment on life's white-foam crest
To rock and feel the unknown heart
Of Beauty palpitate, then start
With sudden urgent joy elate,
And plunge, defying envious fate,
Plunge, plunge that mighty heart perchance
To touch, and all exultant dance
And on the ocean-floor to roam
Like sungleam on the flashing foam,
With thrills a-coursing glad and free
Like ripples of a melody
Through all the blood, till on the shore
Of worlds unseen we stand, once more
Love calls to Love and wakes the soul
To anguish'd ventures, pole to pole.

Miscellany

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

RATIONALIZATION IN BACKWARD ECONOMIES

While examining the equations of world-economy it should not be reasonable to look for a metaphysical determinism or a mechanistic rigidity in the economic structures. Patches of modernism are likely to coexist everywhere with large areas of diverse types of primitivism or medievalism in technique and organization.

The relatively high industrial and technocratic backwardness even of Japan as of India can be envisaged from the following consideration. The percentage of industrial workers to the total population of a country is an objective test of its industrial power. In India (1921-31) it is 1.4 only and in Japan (1922-31) it is as low as 2.5-3.0. On the other hand, the British figure (1927) is 10·7 while the German (1925) as high as 15.5.

Japanese victories since December, 1941, in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines, New Guinea, the South-west Pacific and the North-east Australian waters have been achieved inspite of this relative industrial backwardness. Similarly the military triumphs of Soviet Russia in the defensive war against Germany during 1941-43 must not blind one to the relative industrial backwardness of the Russian people as judged by the Anglo-German standard. The equations of comparative industrialism or technocracy do not compel one to admit any symmetrical, systematic or all-round backwardness, "lag," parity or go-aheadness in the relations between any two regions. Uniformity of development along all fronts of economic activity in any region is not the assumption underlying these equations.

The analysis of the achievements as well as socio-economic lags of Soviet Russia as suggested in this study may be confirmed to a considerable extent by the recent first-hand investigation of the American author, Wallace Carroll, during the third five-year period (1938 42). In the chapter on "Soviet Aims and Hopes" in his *We're in this with Russia* (Boston, 1942), Carroll exhibits the Russian lags *vis-à-vis* the U.S.A. Not before 1960 or even 1970 can the U.S.S.R. catch up to the American *per capita* output of 1929, says he (pp. 219, 229). This American study appears to be an objective investigation and should be contrasted with *Soviet Communism : A New Civilization?* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (London, 1936), whose appreciation is more idealistic.

Incidentally, be it observed that Russia is treated by Spengler in his *Der Mensch und die Technik* (Munich, 1931) as a non-white, colonial or barbarian functioning on the same level as Japan, India, China, Latin America and other laggards. Spengler considers it a most criminal offence on the part of the "whites" (West-Europe and America), a treachery to albinocracy that they initiated Russia and the other inferiors into the mysteries of engineering, science and industrialism. It is interesting that he does not hate technocracy, after all. He is upset simply because the backwards have become masters of this *gupta-vidya* (hidden science, or scientific patent) of the superior races. He would not have been pessimistic if this knowledge—science and art, had eternally remained the monopoly of his Vikings and Nordics, a permanent "trade secret" with them. In the context of this ideology his philosophy of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (Munich, 1917-22) acquires a fresh orientation. The absolutist spiritualitarianism of that book does not appear to have been maintained in the later publication.

SHORTCOMINGS OF WORLD-PLANNING SCHEMES

The Anglo-American plan or plans for multilateral contracts, reduced tariffs, and international currency are directed against Hitler's *Europäische*

Neuordnung (European New Order) under German commercial and monetary domination. But the economico-financial technique of each is identical. Both these conflicting systems (Anglo-American and German) have one common objective.

This is, first, the expansion of markets for the goods of industrial powers, and secondly, the perpetuation of the agrarian character of the backward and politically subject regions. Both are primarily interested in keeping dependencies and laggards at a considerable lag in the matter of industrialization and preventing them from competing with the industrial powers. The prevention of large-scale techno-industrial developments in dependencies and other backward regions is the goal of the rival capitalistic-imperialistic plannings. The highest that these world-planning schemes of Germany or the Anglo-American allies can concede to the backwards, colonies and dependencies in the line of industrialization is the production of consumption goods by modern machinistic methods. But they are opposed to the manufacture of machineries, tools, implements, *Produktionsmittel*, investment goods, etc., by the backwards, colonies and dependencies.

Even the proposed international currency-systems, *Unitas* and *Bancor*, assume the more or less exclusive "monoculture" of raw materials and foodstuffs in certain regions to be exchanged against the finished products of other regions. The American "lease-lend" method is likewise well calculated to force *Agrarstaaten* (agricultural states) to remain predominantly agricultural in order to be able to repay the debts from the U.S.A.

The capitalistic-nationalistic interests of the peoples of India, Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China and the Philippines on the one hand as of the Balkan complex, Eastern Europe and Latin America on the other cannot but offer the strongest opposition to such plans. These are the plans well calculated to keep the backwards hopelessly down as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the American, British, German and other industrial empires for a rather lengthened period. Whether it is possible for the colonies, dependencies and other backwards to effectively oppose such anti-industrialization plans is another question.

To these aspects of world-economy the economic experts of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office have been systematically blind. Nor is there any understanding of this problem in Condliffe's *Agenda for a Post-War World* (New York, 1942). The shortsightedness and other inadequacies of World-Planning Schemes are too palpable. The essentially human ideals and ambitions of subject races and backward regions hardly ever belong to the terms of reference of reconstruction plans formulated under Great Power auspices.

In *Problèmes du Chômage en 1931* (Geneva, 1931) the protectionistic and nationalistic attempts at industrialization on the part of backward, semi-colonial and subject peoples are appraised as *troubles du commerce qui sont générateurs de chômage*. In the estimation of the economists of the League complex the *arthik unnati* (economic progress) of the laggards by modernization of technique and economy is but tantamount to hindrances to commerce and causes of unemployment.

American economists of international problems have hardly gone beyond that ideology. They are pinned down to the traditional policy of preventing China, India, Latin America and similar regions from developing the machinism and industrialism of respectable dimensions. The danger to Eur-American world-domination is suspected by them as lying in the emergence of an industrialized Asia as of an industrialized Africa and an industrialized Latin-America. The adequate industrialization of agricultural states belongs neither to the world-planification of Anglo-American "free-trade" theorists nor to that of German believers in unilateral and barter regionalism. Economically speaking, semi-free or even free peoples are likely under these conditions to be reduced to the status of colonies or dependencies.

Round The World

The New Viceroy

Field-Marshal Wavell has been appointed to succeed Lord Linlithgow as the Governor-General and Crown Representative. This sets at rest the many speculations as to the choice. One of these was to the effect that an Australian would be chosen to become the head of the Indian administration. Nothing possibly could have been more beside the mark than this speculation. That there exists sufficient control of Great Britain over the Indian destiny is galling enough to Indian pride and inconsistent enough with Indian interests. An Australian appointment would have in addition brought home to the Indian public that henceforward there would be a joint control by Great Britain and the British Dominions over Indian affairs. This would have been still more exasperating. It would have been particularly so in view of the unhealthy traditions in Australia as to colour prejudice.

Emphasis has been laid upon the fact that the Governor-General-Designate is a military man. It will be unwise to minimise the prejudice which the Indian public entertains towards the filling of civil offices with military men. It always associates certain outlook and ways of life with military officers. It is unwilling to accept very readily that a military man in a civil office can shed without difficulty his military ways of thought and manner of work. He may be expected to have some brusqueness of manner and little regard for the niceties of law and constitution. But we are not willing exactly to support this point of view. Not unoften a military man evinces not only greater capacity for conducting business but greater elasticity in his approach towards men and things. We do not presume to know the ideas and outlook of Viscount Wavell as he has now become. Appointed as he has been in this new capacity by the high Tories like Churchill and Amery and suggested as his name was for the War Cabinet by such a ultra-Tory organ as the *Nineteenth Century and After*, it may be taken for granted that Lord Wavell has sound Tory views in regard to both home and imperial affairs. But this by itself need not make us prejudiced as to this perticular appointment. For with Churchill as the Premier and Amery as the Secretary of State it would have been foolish to expect that if Wavell were not appointed, any person with progressive views would have been the choice. A Tory would have been selected in any event. Possibly a civilian Tory like Lord Swinton might have been more reactionary and wooden in his policy. Nor should we forget that in Indian history reforms of a far-reaching character are not associated merely with civilian names.

Professor Arnold J. Toynbee and the Foreign Office

Mr. Arnold Toynbee was for years the Director of Studies at the Institute of International Affairs at the Chatham House and at the same time Professor of the subject in the University of London. He has now joined the Foreign Office. It does not seem that this is only a temporary war-time arrangement. It appears that he has made a permanent choice. There was a Research Department in the Foreign Office and there was the Foreign Research and Press Service Branch at the Chatham House. The former has now been abolished and the latter has bean taken out of the control of the Institute and made part and parcel of the Foreign Office. What is more, Professor Toynbee has been selected to head this new

branch in the Foreign Office, whose duty would be, in the words of the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "to advise H. M. G. and to give the Cabinet a background of information about foreign countries." A profound historian, Mr. Toynbee has certainly an ample knowledge of the background of events in all countries with which Great Britain will be required to deal. But there are people who have all the same some misgivings as to his appointment in this key position. They point out that it is not enough for the head of this branch to have knowledge. It is necessary that he should have proper outlook as well. A man who had supported Munich may not be expected to have that outlook.

Sir Walter Citrine in Moscow

Sometime ago there had been a talk for closer collaboration between trade unions in Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. It was, however, given out that while British trade unions were ready for such collaboration with the sister institutions both of the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R., American labour, particularly those unions which are affiliated to the A. F. of L., were unwilling to extend their hand of fellowship to the Soviet trade unions. This on the ground that the latter were part and parcel of the Soviet Government. We have reasons to believe that Sir Walter Citrine, the Secretary to the British Trade Union Council, could not persuade, in course of his tour in the United States, the American Federation of Labour to withhold its opposition to the project. Now, it is reported, he has gone to Moscow. We do not know exactly his intention of the visit. Possibly he will personally place before the Soviet trade union leaders the reasons of the Americans holding out against the proposal of closer collaboration. It should be added in this connection that Sir Walter himself has no great reputation as a friend of Soviet Russia. Early in the history of communist experiment in the U. S. S. R., he in fact spoke very ill of the new regime after a visit to Russia. As the Secretary to the Trade Union Congress also he has all along expressed definitely anti-communist views. But while he sticks to his opinions, he may sincerely believe that at the present time in the interests of the common cause of the United Nations a better social relationship should be established between labour organisations of the three countries.

Racial Riots in Detroit

Sometime ago in the American city of Detroit there was a violent clash between the negroes and the whites. Many people of both the races were killed and wounded. In the first reports which came out to this country there were suggestions that these strifes were inspired by the fifth columnists in the country. But later such suggestions were discounted. It seems that the riots were only the culmination of bad relations which already existed between the two communities. In the Northern States of the U. S. A. the relation between the whites and the blacks has not been as bad as in the South. Treatment of the negro population which is not very large has been more humane than in the Southern States. But from this it is not to be inferred that there has been even in the Northern cities a relation of true equality between the negroes and the white people. Discrimination against the former has existed throughout. In the city of Detroit particularly the two communities were already at loggerheads. More than a year ago some appartment houses were built in a white street for negro tenants. This created a situation which almost culminated in a racial riot. The authorities prevented it only by withdrawing the houses from negro occupation. But although the serious situation was averted, there remained bad blood between the whites and the blacks. Thereafter relation between the two communities further deteriorated over the question of employing negro labour in war industries. The white

people were in many places deadly against such employment which they wanted to reserve for themselves. But President Roosevelt intervened and ensured better treatment of Negro applicants. So the atmosphere was already polluted with racial bitterness and it is no wonder that there was a burst. We, however, believe that the thinking section of the white population of the American States will take necessary steps for bringing about amity and concord in the country.

The Ku Klux Klan

In the prevailing racial tension in the United States there has been, it is reported, a revival of the Ku Klux Klan. We do not know if the report is true. But if it is so, nothing can be more unfortunate. A secret gang under this name appeared in the Southern States immediately after the Civil War in the late sixties of the last century. As a result of Northern victory over the South and the liberation of the negroes from slavery which this victory brought about, the white population in these States found their position and even honour threatened from two sides. In the first place what they described as carpet-baggers from the North appeared in Southern States to oust them from all positions of advantage and make them hewers of wood and drawers of water in the territories which they had dominated so long. Secondly, the negroes in the first flush of liberated enthusiasm took up in many cases an attitude towards their former masters which the latter regarded as intolerable. But constitutionally and legally they did not find any remedy against this state of things. This was the period of reconstruction during which the old white population of the South was deprived of all political power. So hot-blooded cadets of the old planting families of the South now banded themselves into a secret organisation and resorted to bloody and murderous tactics. Whenever and wherever they would notice any negro or a carpet-bagger taking up an objectionable attitude, one or more of them would visit his house in strange and weird costume and inflict serious physical injuries either upon him or upon any member of his family. Their policy was in fact to strike terror into the heart of both the negroes and the whites from the North, and to declare that although they had sustained defeat in the trial of strength during the Civil War it would be unwise to treat them as an extinct volcano. They knew how to turn. In fact, the Ku Klux Klan which was started as a retaliatory organisation not only created an atmosphere of white lawlessness but ultimately succeeded in terrorising the liberated negroes and in depriving them of the political gains which had been conferred upon them during the period of reconstruction.

For about fifty years thereafter nothing was heard of the organisation. In fact, the negroes, though free citizens, had already been reduced to a helpless position and there was no necessity of a body like the Ku Klux Klan to keep them down. But during the years after the last Great War a body under the same name and with a similar objective reappeared and disfigured the social life of the United States during the early twenties. The last War, as is the present, was a war to make democracy safe and individual dignity and freedom secure. It was only expected that the negroes many of whom had fought with the American colours on the European soil would return to their country with a new sense of self-respect. Many of them would naturally be unwilling to take pre-War conditions of life lying down. But this assertion of their right was galling to their white co-citizens. The latter became determined to keep them down, under the garb of law if possible, by tearing it off, if necessary. The new Ku Klux Klan tore it off on many occasions. The present War has provided another occasion for the negroes to assert their rights as human beings and as citizens of the United States and consequently it may provide a similar occasion for the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. But, it may be repeated, if such a revival takes place at all, that will be both unfortunate and unwise.

Free Trade or Provincial Barriers

There has been serious objection from Bihar, Orissa, and Assam to the declaration of the Eastern Zone as a free trade area by the Government of India. Possibly such a declaration may have put these provinces to some temporary inconvenience. But the mistake appears to consist not in this declaration but in the original policy of trade barriers which were set up not only between province and province but also between district and district. This short-sighted step was undertaken evidently to make Government control over foodstuffs easy. But possibly such control, if it was needed at all, might have been ensured otherwise. There was a time when political and administrative disunity of India was so palpable as to make trade barriers possible between different territorial districts in this country. But with the growth of administrative and political unity these barriers were abolished and except for duties imposed by some of the states and the octroi duties collected by the municipalities of Northern India, this country has been a free trade area for long. The re-imposition of the barriers as a war measure was from every point of view a retrograde step. As for the tightening of Government control and the regulation of prices, none will say that they have been helped in any way by this measure. In fact, it has only stimulated the sectional sentiments and forces which are always strong in this country and which require only an occasion to assert themselves. It has been foolhardy to provide the occasion. Meanwhile, the neighbouring provinces like Assam, Orissa and Bihar should know that if Bengal is short of foodstuffs, it is due to the exigencies of war the conduct of which is as much their responsibility as Bengal's. It is true that the stoppage of imports from Burma and the natural calamities in this province have contributed to shortage here. But such contribution is proportionately very small. The real shortage is due to the discharge of military responsibilities which, it may be repeated, are really all-India responsibilities and even responsibilities of the United Nations. So the idea that these neighbouring provinces are being made to suffer on Bengal's account may better be discarded. By the entertainment of such an idea none but the Pakisthanists profit.

Labour Party Conference

Nothing startling happened at the annual Conference of the British Labour Party. One of the issues to be decided was the attitude of the Party to the existing Co-alition. When the Labour Party allowed its representatives to be included in the Churchill Cabinet, an arrangement was arrived at in regard to the bye-elections. It was to the effect that the seat held by one party would not be contested by another in case of a vacancy. There are many in the Labour Party now who believe that this arrangement is working in favour of the Conservatives and against themselves. They would consequently like to break up the party truce. But the Conference decided in favour of the existing arrangement. In other words during the continuance of the War the Labour Party as such would not set up any candidate against a Conservative in a Conservative seat although there may be a trend towards leftism among the voters. The question as to what policy the Labour Party would adopt in the general election immediately after victory has been left open. A large section of the Party was in favour of an immediate declaration that after the conclusion of the War the party truce would not be continued. But it is not unlikely that if a decision was taken at the present time to this effect, many of the leaders of the Party might not have accepted it. There was the risk of their breaking away from the decision with some following. The decision has consequently been postponed. But even after the War it is unlikely that it will be really unanimous. There is in fact every likelihood that once victory is achieved, most of the rank and file would like to have election on party lines

while the leaders would demand the continuance of the truce. What happened in 1931 may, therefore, be repeated. With the leaders spirited away to the Conservative camp, the rank and file of the Labour Party may find themselves between the devil and the deep sea. The prospects of the Labour Party after the War may not, in other words, be very rosy. The third question before the Conference was in regard to the Trades Disputes Act. Workers in the Government Departments are not allowed under the existing Act to join any trade union. This is a disability which most members of the Labour Party want to remove. But the Conservatives in the Cabinet are in favour of the existing arrangement. Any resolution of the Conference, demanding an amendment of the Act, would have placed the Labour representatives in the Cabinet in a difficult relation with their Conservative colleagues. Consequently, in this matter also no decision was taken. What again happened in respect of it happened also in regard to British policy towards India. A very large majority of the Labour Party believes in and is committed to the Churchillian policy of the big stick in this country. In fact, many observers are of the view that the Labourites are as a rule more reactionary in respect of India than even the Diehards. But there is a small minority which wants a fresh attempt to be made for the solution of the Indian tangle. It should not be understood that even this group is very go-ahead in respect of Indian political aspirations. But it does not believe in the policy of nothing doing during the War. The resolution which this group introduced in the Conference had, however, to be withdrawn. From the above account it will be clear that the Conference this year did not indicate anything progressive in the Labour platform. It is in fact one of extreme caution and of compromise with the Conservative Party. Only one action of the Conference may be welcomed in progressive circles and that is the defeat inflicted upon Herbert Morrison in his candidature for the office of the Treasurer. This defeat is the saving grace.

More Powers for the Centre in Australia

The Commonwealth of Australia Act under which the several Colonies in that continent were federated was passed in 1900. The distribution of powers between the Commonwealth and State Governments was roughly modelled upon that between the Federal and State Governments in the United States of America. In certain particulars it might be said no doubt that the Australian Government was placed more advantageously in relation to the federal units than the U. S. Government in relation to the States. But the liberal interpretation by the Supreme Court of some of the clauses of the constitution, particularly the Commerce clause, has helped in a steady development of federal authority and power in the United States. In fact the constitution framed in the eighteenth century would have been completely out of date in that country, if it were not made by the Supreme Court to keep pace with the growth of civilisation.

In Australia neither the clauses of the Constitution Act could admit of such liberal construction nor could the judges of the High Court be said to be inclined to such interpretation. The Commonwealth Government could not consequently arrogate to itself increasing powers at the expense of the States. But as soon as the present War comes to a close, great problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction will demand solution. About half the total population is now engaged in one way or another in war work. With the cessation of hostilities the Government will be required to see to it that these people released from war employment are properly settled otherwise. If this problem was left to the different State Governments, they will certainly find it beyond their strength and resources to tackle it. The Commonwealth Government on the other hand will find itself without constitutional powers to deal with it. In view of this possible tangle, a few months ago a bill was introduced in the federal legislature by Dr. Evatt by way of amending the Constitution.

The procedure followed in constitutional amendment in Australia is this. The amending bill has first of all to be passed by the federal legislature by absolute majority in both the houses and then it has to be adopted not only by the majority of the States but also by the majority of the total population of the Commonwealth. Consequently, it may be repeated, the bill was introduced in the Commonwealth Parliament. But it was rather of a drastic nature and its introduction was therefore followed by a hue and cry in many circles. The Government thought it right on this score to withdraw the bill. But meanwhile a constitutional convention consisting of twenty-four members was set up to advise the Government as to the provisions of the new bill to be framed. Such a procedure is not dictated by the Constitution Act of Australia. In fact the establishment of a convention to this end is unprecedented in the constitutional history of the Commonwealth. But this procedure was regarded as very proper in the circumstances which now prevail. Of the twenty-four members, twelve were chosen from the federal legislature on all-party basis, and the remaining twelve were the Premiers and the Leaders of the Opposition of the six States. But this convention also did not prove as helpful as it was expected to be by the Government. Particularist forces are still very strong in the States, and not only those belonging to the Conservative and other groups but also the Labour Premiers of some of the States did not entertain the idea of going against these forces and recommend a constitutional amendment under which the Federal Government would become all-powerful and the States would become mere administrative divisions.

At last a compromise was suggested, by means of which the post-war emergency may be tackled by the Central Government without the constitution being amended and powers being permanently transferred to the Federal Government from the States. Under the existing Constitution there is a provision that any State Legislature may decide that a particular power vested in itself should, for a definite period, be exercised on its behalf by the Commonwealth Government. It was now suggested that all the State Legislatures should decide that all relevant powers for the solution of post-war problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation should, for a period of five or six years, be exercised by the Federal Government. The compromise was in fact brought about to this effect. But we do not know if all the State Legislatures have so far acted accordingly.

Eire Elections

The general elections held in Eire have not resulted in the absolute majority of any party or group. Out of 138 seats the Fianna Fail of De Valera has secured 67, the Fine Gael of Cosgrave 32, Labour 17, Farmers 14, and Independents 8. Labour and the farmers have gained at the expense of both De Valera and Cosgrave. In fact the latter must have met with severe disappointment. After being at the head of affairs in the State for over a decade, he has now been out of power for more than ten years. Naturally he had expected that there might be a swinging of the pendulum and he might be again in a position to form the Government. But his hopes have been dashed to pieces. De Valera also should carefully read the writing on the wall. His party continues to be the largest single group in the Dail but it has ceased to have a majority by itself. Even before the War, because of strained relations with Britain, trade had suffered and both farmers and labour had felt the pinch. As a result of the War there has been further deterioration in this field. It was inevitable, therefore, that labour and farmers would both like to assert themselves more effectively. De Valera, it may be repeated, will have to work in the future with greater appreciation of their difficulties if he is to keep in power for any length of time.

In order that the Governor-General might not have any say in the formation of the Government, it was laid down in the constitution which was framed soon after the establishment of the Free State that unlike the other Dominions it would

have its Premier elected by the Dail instead of his being appointed by the Governor-General. This practice has continued ever since. So the new Dail was called upon some time after the election to choose the Premier. The candidates were De Valera and Cosgrave. The latter could master only thirty-seven votes on his side. So De Valera was elected again to be the Premier of Eire. We do not exactly know the issues which were raised during the elections. But the question of Irish unity must have loomed large, for upon that De Valera has for long concentrated his attention. The six counties which were separated from the rest of Ireland have no justification in his eyes to continue separate.

American Independence Day

On the 4th of July, 1776, the thirteen American Colonies of Great Britain declared their independence of the mother country. Since then its anniversary has been observed with due solemnity by the people of the United States. This year also the Americans celebrated it both in their own country as well as in the countries of the other United Nations. Not only during the period of the War of Independence but for decades after its successful conclusion, the Americans were regarded as rebels by the British Government and it cannot be said that there was much love lost between them. But it is significant that now not only the individual British citizens but the members of the British Government as well participate in the observance of the Independence Day. The rebels of yesterday have become the friends and collaborators of to-day. This is what should be. Charles James Fox once said that his friendships were eternal but his enmities were not. The sentiment which the observation expresses may be true of only great men. In commoner instances neither friendships nor enmities are eternal. The friends of yesterday may be enemies of to-day and *vice versa*. What again is true of the relations between individuals is equally true of nations and states. It is regrettable, however, that many statesmen and politicians happen to make only a tardy recognition of this truism. They appear to persist in their bitterness too long to the detriment of fundamental interests.

When Jefferson was entrusted with the duty of drawing up the Declaration, no political principle was more popular in Europe and the Colonies than the one which underlay the theory of contract. In one form or another it had been popularised during the previous one century and when Jefferson took up his pen to discharge his noble obligation it had taken hold of the imagination of most Americans including himself. It is no wonder, therefore, that he would exploit this principle very adroitly in justifying the step which the American subjects of His Majesty, George III, were now determined to take—the step of withdrawing their allegiance from his person and declaring it to the world. The relations between a constituted government and the citizens living under it were, in his opinion, those of give and take. The Government would fulfil its obligations in every accepted manner and the citizens would offer it their loyalty and obedience in return. Once, however, the Government would cease to behave properly, the citizens living under it would be exonerated thereby from their obligations of loyalty.

For years the contract theory had been studied and analysed and dissected no doubt, but up to 1776 it was confined only to the great books. Embodied in the Declaration of Independence it became hereafter a political explosive. This document not only proved in the Colonies to be a weapon of even greater potency than the amunitions which George Washington could assiduously collect, but it proved to be equally effective in subsequent years in the European continent. For the great thoughts which it contains and the noble language in which they are expressed, the Declaration of Independence has an eternal place in the history of human freedom. It is a document which should be read and digested as much by those who wield power and authority as by those who have to bear the burden

of tyranny. A perusal of the document would make the former more sober and wise and the latter more assertive and intolerant of tyranny.

Mr. N. R. Sarker on D. I. Rules as to the issue and public offering of Shares

Addressing the shareholders of the Bengal Central Bank Limited as their Chairman at the twenty-fourth Annual General Meeting, Mr. Sarker referred to the new D.I. Rules as to the issue of shares. He was in agreement with the opinion of the Reserve Bank of India "that more than ordinary caution is called for in the organisation and management of new Banks in view of the difficulties and the disturbances which the post-war period is certain to bring." But caution of the character suggested by the Reserve Bank is one thing, the situation created by the promulgation of the new D. I. Rules prohibiting the issue and public offering of shares except with the sanction of the Central Government is quite another. "The comprehensive nature of the powers taken under the D. I. Rules" observes Mr. Sarker "has roused the apprehension in many quarters that the Rules, are likely to hinder the growth of banking and industrial establishment."

Reviews and Notices of Books

Where We Differ.—By Indra Prakash, General Secretary, Servants of the Hindus' Society. Published by the Hindu Mission Pustak Bhandar, New Delhi. Pp. 343. Price Rs. 2.

The author, a prominent member and worker of the Hindu Mahasabha, institutes a comparison between the ideology and technique of the organisation to which he belongs and those of the Indian National Congress and seeks to prove that the latter has yielded to Muslim demands to the detriment of Hindu interests. He makes it clear that defence of Hindu interests does not imply serving them at the expense of the interests of other religious groups. The value of this book lies in the light it throws on the militant attitude Hinduism has of late taken under the leadership of Mr. Savarkar.

India Speaks.—By Mulraj Mehta. Published by the Kutub Minar Publications, 23, Hamam Street, Bombay. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1-8.

The preface contributed by the editor introduces the reader to a large number of extracts from statements made by prominent Indian politicians, from articles which have appeared in different periodicals and from resolutions passed by various political organisations. Great ability has been displayed by the editor in selecting them from the exponents of different schools of political thought ranging from the extreme right to the extreme left. Mr. Mehta has supplied an index to enable his readers to refer without any trouble to the person whose opinion they might desire to ascertain.

The impression left even after a cursory perusal of this excellently produced volume is that India as a whole, irrespective of caste, creed and political affiliations is desirous of achieving freedom. This book presents in a compendious form nearly all that has been said on this subject and which otherwise one would have to search far and wide to procure.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Hound of Uladh (Two Plays in Verse).—By James H. Cousins. Published by Kalakshetra, Madras. Rs. 5-10.

The exquisite story of Mirabai, Rani of Mewar, who was "possessed" by her love of the child Krishna, singing her devotion in the many songs which still remain a living heritage amongst the religious lyrics of India, forms the theme of the first of these plays. The drama describes the episodes of the estrangement between husband and wife, the Rana's jealousy of the love and admiration which she won from the people, and his demand for her execution, to which she responded by her voluntary death in the river, the final act of wifely obedience so frequently extolled in Indian classics.

This drama has been published before, this being the third edition. It is essentially a tale to be read rather than acted.

The dialogue is uniform in style and thereby loses in characterisation. Kings and maids and beggars use the same graceful diction of a past romanticism.

The guard thus describes the death of Mirabai :

> "And now I measure out the eye's first look ;
> It was less moonlight than outspreading wings
> That moved with her and she was like a lotus
> That slips away from muddy anchorage."

The Hound of Uladh is a new drama on a theme so ancient as to be new to most readers a tale of Irish myth.

Professor Cousins recognises a deep ethical significance in mythology, "the wisdom of the heavenly wise," characteristic of the Irish revival under Yeats and A. E. He finds in Cuchulain of the Red Branch a saviour-hero attended by his twelve hero knights.

There is a lengthy Prologue in verse reminiscent of Scott:

"Set round my ready table see
The proud Ultonian chivalry
In broidered mantle, pleated kilt,
Loud laughing but with hand on hilt."

At times a sense of humour breaks through:

"The heroes link their hands in peace;
Their silence is the jealous mood
Of beasts anticipant of food."

The tale winds on somewhat obscurely in what we are asked to believe is "the vast adventure of the soul."

An effort is made to bring the meaning of the myth into modern life by a change of scene to a modern Dublin boarding house and introducing three men parallel in types to the three heroes, Cuchulain, Laeg and Lugadh, representing, Will, Intuition and Mind. The author's knowledge of Irish Myth is impressive but tends to obscure the meaning of his verse.

E. M. MILFORD.

Islam and Christianity.—By Lootfy Levonian. Published by Allen and Unwin, London. 1939. Pp. 158+10.

This interesting little volume is a fine specimen of the subtle Christian propaganda, written for the sake of revolutionising the missionary methods of the evangelists in the Near East, and claiming to explain the basic causes of the differences and misunderstanding between the Christians and the Muslims, in the light of their peculiar Psychology, and past history. At the end it suggests the way to reconciliation between the two communities.

The author, Lootfy Levonian, is the Dean of the Near East School of Theology at Bairut. He is well-acquainted with the religious literature and history of Christianity and has made some study of Islamic literature and history both in English as well as in Arabic. He has taken keen interest in the well-organised vigorous missionary work of the Christians, in the Near East, and has been disappointed at the poor result of their long, continuous, systematic, efficiently organised efforts. He devoted his mind to this problem and the present book is the result of his deep thought. Having composed the book he presented it first at the assemblies of his own School of Theology and later, at those of Selly and Oak colleges, and received their support in favour of his ideas and theories.

He is of opinion that the failure of the Christian missionary work in the Near East is mainly due to the want of appreciation by the evangelists, of the Psychology of the Muslims, and of the history of Islam and of its attitude towards Christianity. The Christian missionaries, according to the author, on account of their ignorance of Muslim psychology, present to them the highly spiritual teachings of Christianity, which cannot be appreciated by the thoroughly materialistic minds of the Semites, and on account of their ignorance of the attitude of the Muslims to the Christians, their approach of the Muslims, is rather antagonistic than sympathetic, which makes reconciliation more difficult than easy.

In order to establish his thesis the author has tried to show by numerous references to the Hebrew and the Muslim authors, that the Semitic mind is incapable to conceive of the 'spirit' and the 'spiritual' in the sense in which the Western peoples use them. According to the Semites, the Muslims as well as the Hebrew, the 'Spirit' is a 'body,' an entity of quasi-material nature, and the 'Spiritual' is always 'material' whereas to the Western mind they are antithesis of 'matter' and 'material.' This is an important special feature of Semitic Psychology. It has influenced the entire ideology of Islams. The Islamic idea of Faith, of Prophet, of prayer and of purity is consequently entirely materialistic. As for Islam's God, He is unlike anything else that one can know or think of. This conception of God makes Him, not immoral, but certainly non-moral, and renders prayer, in the sense of personal communion with Him, impossible.

As for the attitude of Islam and the Muslims towards Christianity and the Christians, it had been according to the author, in the beginning, sympathetic and conciliatory. But in the 9th year of the Islamic era the Prophet of Islam declared war against the non-Muslims including the Christians. In the periods that followed the attitude of Islam towards Christianity differed according to the circumstances, the ruling dynasties and the personal idiosyncrasy of the individual Caliph or ruler. But on the whole the attitude of the Muslims to the Christians had been more sympathetic and friendly than that of the Christians to them.

At the end the author suggests that the remedy for the misunderstanding and antagonism between the two communities lies neither in the complete absorption of any one of them by the other, as the Ultra-Nationalists and the Ultra-Religionists suggest, nor in putting religion altogether out of the scope of politics and social order, as the Positivists think, nor in ignoring religious and racial differences and emphasising in their stead, a common culture, as some leading men of the day advocate, but in cultivating brand outlook, giving up superstitious beliefs and dogmas and re-interpreting religion in a wholly new spirit and applying it to political and social relationship.

To a non-Christian reader, however, the author appears to have ignored two important facts. Firstly, Christianity itself saw the light through a Semite. Christ himself belonged to the same race and was brought up among them and the Arabs and the other Semites, therefore, according to the author, should better understand what was taught and preached by Christ than the Greeks and the Romans who, on account of their peculiar Psychology, interpreted his teachings in their own mysterious fashion which was never imagined by Christ himself. Secondly, the Muslims do not constitute a race. Al Gahazali for example, whom the author has quoted, was a thorough-bred Persian by race. And the Persians are acknowledged by all to be capable of rising to great spiritual and mystic height. The word 'body' used by him in the definition of spirit (*Ruh*) must be taken to have been used in the sense of 'entity' or 'being' as the Muslims interpret it, and not in the sense of physique as Levonian thinks.

The author of the book under review has at places taken passages out of their context and misinterpreted them, and at places made wrong statements also. In the quotations in pages 114, and 115 which are translations of the verses from the Koran (Chap. IX), the author does not say a word about the organised attempt of the Romans together with the Christian Arabian tribes of the North, to crush Islam, nor does he refer to the repeated violation by them, and by the Arab tribes of their treaties with the Muslims, which caused the declaration of war by the Muslims who gave them four months' notice to change their attitude. On the other hand the author omits the verses which enjoined upon the Muslims the strict observance of the terms of the treaties, with such of the tribes as did not violate them. On page 131 again, the author says, "Neither the early Mecca Suras, nor the later Medina Suras contain any censure upon either external or internal alteration of the Bible." This is not the fact. The Koran (Chap. II,

ver. 70; Chap. IV, ver. 48; Chap. V, ver. 16; etc.) repeatedly charges the Jews and the Christians with wilfully corrupting the text of the Bible. As a matter of fact the author has been unable to rise above that narrow view of religion which is unfortunately the common characteristic of the theologians of all the religions who lay too much emphasis on the details of the dogmas and rituals, lose sight of the basic principles which elevates humán mind above the petty individual, racial or national interests and constitutes the spirit of every religion. "It is not righteousness," says the Koran, "that you turn your faces towards the East and the West, but righteousness is this that you should have faith in Allah, and in the last day and the angels, and the book, and the prophets, and give away wealth *out of love for Him* to the near of him, and the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, and the beggars, etc. (Ch. II, 172).

M. Z. S.

The Message of the Himalayas.—By Swami Sambuddhananda of Sri Ramkrishna Ashram, Khar, Bombay. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar. 1942. Price Twelve Annas.

The Himalayas have attracted thousands through the ages. In modern times they have furnished a perpetual spur to the Alpinists of Europe. Swami Sambuddhananda continues the tradition of the Indian mountain-pilgrims of the diverse epochs and is modern enough to visualise the Himalayan treasures through the eyes of Western Nature-researchers. The result of his interest in the Himalayas is this little book about their message. The Swami exhibits them as speaking to all and sundry. The book will appeal to the poet, the painter, the mystic, the historian, the geographer, and last but not least, the social servant.

B. K. SARKAR

Dhammapada (with the Text in Nāgarī and Roman, an English Translation, Notes and Index).—By U. Dhammajoti. Published by the Mahabodhi Society from Sarnath, Benares. Pocket Edition, 398 pages.

Here I am to review two paper-bound and nicely printed pocket editions of one and the same work showing no other difference between them than that in one the Pali text is presented in Devanāgarī, and in the other, in Roman characters, the English translation, notes, and the rest being identically the same in both.

It may be observed that the way to such a cheap and handy edition with an English translation was shown by Professor N. K. Bhagvat the author and the Buddha Society of Bombay the publisher. I wish I could congratulate the author and the publisher of the present edition on their better success.

Neither a critical edition nor a standard English translation is to be expected from a cheap propaganda literature. Imitation is ape, goes the English proverb. I am not easily inclined to allow literary plagiarism to pass as a true example of either scholarship or work of merit.

The author's introduction is inadequate as it sadly fails to give a realistic account of the various recensions of the Dhammapada and the labours of many eminent scholars on them. But loyal perhaps to the tradition of Sarnath, the author confines the whole of the credit to the Pancavaggiyas, headed by the antiquated Max Müller.

It is now a matter of common knowledge that there were as many as eight versions of the Dhammapada, the oldest being that in Pali and the latest the Dharma-samuccaya in Sanskrit, compiled in Nepal. In spite of a common basis and purpose, each version has its own individuality as regards the arrangement of its chapters and grouping of its verses or stanzas. The Indian original of the enlarged Chinese version, called Fa-kheu-king, was a Sautrāntika work with a total of 500 verses, and it was, to all intents and purposes, the same as the Pali text. The later versions exhibit not only a process of emendation of

individual stanzas but also that of commentary making explicit what was implicit in an earlier verse.

In solving the problem of interpretation concerning a particular verse or any part of it, the light should be sought not only from the Pali commentary but also from other versions and their commentaries, if any. It is also necessary to compare parallel verses or ideas in other branches of Indian literature, in Prakrit as well as Sanskrit, earlier, contemporary or later, the modern being pre-eminently an age for comparative *alias* scientific study.

Let us consider, for instance, Dhammajoti's rendering of the verse (I. 6) which reads in original as:

pare ca na vijānanti, "mayam ettha yamāmase" ।
ye ca tattha vijānanti, tato sammanti medhagā ॥

He translates it by:

"If the others do not realise (that the quarrels are bad), in this case let us restrain; there those who understand, from them the quarrels cease."

In the commentary, as rightly pointed out by him, the verb *yamāmase* is paraphrased by *uparamāma, nassāma, maccusantikaṃ gacchāma,* "we shall cease to be, perish, proceed towards death." True that according to Kaccāyana's rule, *yamāmase* is an Imperative, 1st person, plural *ātmanepada* form. But the author ought to have known that the Pali *yamāmase* conformed to the rule of Vedic grammar. *Cf.* Ṛgveda, I. 1.4: *upa tvāgne...vayam...emasi,* yielding the expression *vayam upaimasi.* Here the verbal form *upaimasi* is to be explained by Pāṇini's rule *Idantomasiḥ.* Thus corresponding to the Pali *yamāmase* the Vedic form would be *yamāmasi,* "we go."

Now, adverting to the wording of the verse itself, the statement *pare ca na vijānanti,* "others (the unwise) do not know," requires an object, which is set forth in the second clause, *mayam ettha yamāmase,* expressing evidently a fact of life, an element of reality, a truth, that we shall go away from here, that here we shall cease to be. This is precisely the sense in which the gāthā of the Udānavarga was interpreted in Tibetan, "though this life be brief" (Rockhill, Udānavarga, Ch. XIV).

I am aware that in the Sarvāstivāda version of the Vinaya Mahāvagga, Kośāmbakavastu, the Sanskrit counterpart of the Pali verse reads:

pare'tra na vijānanti "vayamatrodyamāmahe" ।
atra ye tu vijānanti teṣāṃ śāmyanti medhakāḥ ॥

Here one may be tempted like the Tibetan Lotsava to take the verb *udyamāmahe* (Lat, 1st person, plural *ātmanepada* form) in the sense of "we make efforts," "we are efforting." But *udyamāmahe* cannot be regarded as a Classical Sanskrit form. Evidently *udyamāmahe* was a later Sanskritisation from a Prakrit verb closely allied to the Pali *yamāmase.*

It would seem less likely that *yamāmase,* instead of being a verbal form of expression, is a noun in the seventh case, serving as a Pali or Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *yamāmarṣe,* "in the wrath of Yama." *Se* may be treated also as a mere expletive.

The author has also missed the force of the clause, *Tato sammanti medhagā,* in translating it by "from them the quarrels cease." *Tato* is nowhere employed to refer to a person or persons. It ought to have been translated by "from that," *i.e.*, "from knowing that fact or truth," *cf.* the use of the neuter pronominal form *tato* in the opening verses of the Dharmapada.

Admittedly the two opening verses are the most striking, the most important of all as formulating the Buddhist psycho-ethical idea of conduct. But precisely here, strange as it may appear, Dhammajoti's rendering "mind precedes all mental states"—is commonplace, unenlightening and ineffective and is not

the proper rendering of the significant predicate, *manopubbaṅgamā*, of *dhammā*, nor is "follows" that of *anveti* in the Buddhist sense of the term. That either "misery follows him like the wheel (of the chariot) follows the hoof of the beast of burden" or "happiness follows him like the shadow that never leaves" is the popular Hindu idea. With the Buddha the verb *anveti* did not mean "follows" but "goes hand in hand with," "goes together," "goes along." With the Buddhist thinker the wheel and the bullock are both integral parts of a chariot, the whole of the life-movement, the whole process of moral consciousness. It is wrong to say that the shadow follows the body, it only moves inseparably along with the body.

The exhortation, *vanaṃ chindatha, mā rukkhaṃ*, in verse 283, is translated by "cut down the forest (lust), not the tree." Here the author does not suggest the allegorical or symbolical meaning of "tree," without which the force of the whole teaching is lost upon the reader. The tree stands for the organ of sense, the sense-faculty. The intended teaching is directed against the violent ascetic method of destroying the physical organ of sense instead of destroying the lust or passion which is a mental factor, an element in man's character. The instruction is not to proceed like a bad workman who foolishly quarrels with his tools.

The instances cited above may suffice to show that the light is missed exactly where it is wanted. The Dhammapada is not a book to be lightly handled. Each chapter, each verse, nay, each particular clause of it must be carefully considered in reference to its proper historical context,—the whole trend of the Buddha's ethical teaching and religious experience. One must go deeper and deeper and still deeper, as is the burden of the Buddha's teaching by the parable of digging deeper and deeper, and deeper still (Vammika-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya).

B. M. BARUA.

A Diary of the Japanese War (in Bengali).—By Vivekananda Mukhopadhyaya. Published by A. Mukherjee and Bros., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 350. Price Rs. 4.

The author of this work is a Bengali publicist of considerable standing. He is well posted in international affairs and has taken a good deal of pains to understand the technique of modern warfare. The contents of the book were originally published in the form of articles in the Bengali daily, the *Jugantar*, which the author happens to edit. But, though written primarily for the daily press, all the chapters are singularly rich both in factual details and in scientific criticism.

The book opens with a discussion of the background of the Japanese war and then takes us through the struggle as it developed from day to day. The readers will have a very clear idea of the war as it was fought in the East from December, 1941 to December, 1942.

The book does not merely provide a descriptive catalogue of the incidents of the Japanese War. It gives us a vivid description of many of the incidents indeed, but it pauses also to analyse the causes of Japanese victory and allied defeat during the first phase of the war in Asia. In this connection the author provides the history of allied preparations in such places as Singapore and shows how and why these preparations proved so inadequate and ineffective. He also recalls in many places the Japanese tradition in naval warfare and gives us a correct idea as to the habits, training, and outlook of the Japanese soldiers. In fact the author has made every effort and taken all troubles to make the book not only exceedingly readable but really useful to the general reader in understanding the Japanese War. The value of the book has been further enhanced by the incorporation of a number of maps.

N. C. R.

Ourselves

I. A New Fellow.—II. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize in Zoology and Botany.—III. Dr. K. S. Ray and Tuberculosis Insurance for Students.—IV. Birla Grant to the University.—V. Dr. H. C. Ray.—VI. The Late Sir Jehangir Cooverjee Coyajee.

I. A New Fellow

Dr. J. B. Grant, M.D., M.P.H., F.A.P.R., Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, has been nominated by His Excellency the Chancellor to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University.

* * *

II. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize in Zoology and Botany

On the reports of Professor H. K. Mookerjee D.Sc., Rai Bahadur Dr. S. L. Hora, D.Sc. and Dr. P. Sen, M.Sc., Ph.D., Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Basu, M.Sc., has been awarded the above prize and the medal. The thesis which he submitted in this connection was entitled "On the life history, bionomics and development of the 'Trichoke' orizias melastigma occurring in inland waters in Bengal." We congratulate Mr. Basu.

* * *

III. Dr. K. S. Ray and Tuberculosis Insurance for Students

Dr. K. S. Ray gave notice of a resolution for discussion in the Senate that Registered students of this University should be required to pay a small annual fee and the money so collected should be constituted into a Fund, out of which contributions might be made to Tuberculosis Hospitals and to those Registered students of the University, who might be suffering from the disease, for treatment in these Hospitals. Dr. Ray has been requested by the University to make his scheme more detailed and meanwhile the Syndicate has constituted a Committee to go into the matter.

* * *

IV. Birla Grant to the University

In order that the expenditure for working the Cyclotrone Department of this University may be met, Mr. G. D. Birla wrote a letter to

Dr. B. C. Roy, the Vice-Chancellor, on behalf of the Krishnaarpan Charity Trust, offering for five years an annual grant af Rs. 12000. The Senate has accepted the offer with thanks. The Syndicate has also appointed a Committee to consider as to how the bequest may be utilised.

* * *

V. Dr. H. C. Ray

Dr. H. C. Ray, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Lond.), who has been a Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in this University for over twenty years, was recently appointed University Professor of History in Ceylon. Dr. Ray has joined his new post with two years' leave from this University. We congratulate him on his appointment.

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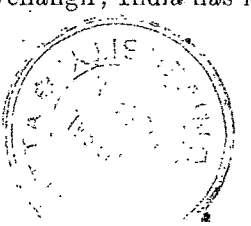
VI. The Late Sir Jehangir Cooverjee Coyajee

Death has been announced from Bombay of Sir Jehangir Cooverjee Coyajee. As Professor of Economics in the Presidency College, Calcutta and a Lecturer on the subject in the Post-Graduate Department of this University, he was a prominent figure in educational circles in this city for two decades. Beginning his career as a teacher of Persian in an institution in Bombay, he switched on to Economics at Cambridge, where he was a student of Professor Marshall. In 1911, he joined the Indian Education Service and began teaching Economics at Calcutta. Besides inspiring two generations of students with love for Economics, he took a prominent part in the shaping of the economic policy of the country. As a member of the Fiscal Commission and the Currency Commission he contributed very largely to the determination of Government policy in respect of these problems. On retirement from the Indian Education Service, Sir Jehangir was for some time associated with the Andhra University. The last few years of his life he spent in Bombay in peaceful cultural pursuits. He reverted at this time to his old love, Persian literature, and brought out some time ago his studies on the *Shāhnāma*. By the death of Sir Jehangir, India has lost an erudite scholar and a great teacher of youth.



or the replacement of University by technical education would solve the unemployment problem. The glowing tribute he paid to University education and his reasons for doing so would warm the heart of any University man. The peroration in which he asked the new graduates "to see visions and to dream dreams" as regards the future honourable position of India in the comity of nations is remarkable for its idealism and the powerful appeal it must have made to his hearers, young and old.

VII

Journalism attracted Dr. Sinha from almost the beginning of his career. He founded the "Kayastha Samachar" about 1899 when he was practising at Allahabad. The name of the periodical was changed to "Hindusthan Review" in 1903. He has been editing this journal continuously up to the present except for an interval of five years when he was a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

During the last 42 years, this very ably conducted English monthly has provided a forum for the expression of all shades of opinion, political, economic, social and philosophical, and continues to find a large circle of readers in and outside India. Probably the best tribute paid to the services rendered by the "Hindusthan Review" was that from the pen of the late Mr. W. T. Stead who in his "Review of Reviews" said:

"The *Hindusthan Review* is of special value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind."

This labour of love has not only made heavy and continuous calls on the time and energy of a very busy and hard-working man but has also made Dr. Sinha responsible for large financial obligations for the maintenance of this periodical. "The Amrita Bazar Patrika" of Calcutta was referring to this fact when it said in an editorial:

"Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha is a lawyer by profession and training, but a journalist by conviction and sympathies. The law has given him a fortune, while journalism has made him a prodigal . . . certainly journalism is Mr. Sinha's hobby; nor has it been a trade with him yielding the producer's surplus."

That Dr. Sinha has won recognition as a journalist is proved by the fact that at the first International Press Conference organised by the League of Nations in 1927, he was invited to represent the newspapers of India. We also find that he was invited by the profession to open the Press Exhibition at Allahabad in 1935, where the thought-provoking

address he delivered showed how deep is his insight into those problems which specially pertain to Indian journalism. Still another proof of the esteem in which he is held by Indian journalists is afforded by the invitation extended to him in 1940 by the working journalists of his province to address them on the legal and other disabilities of journalism in India and the ideals which should guide them in their daily work.

VIII

As editor of the "Hindusthan Review," Dr. Sinha supplies regularly a thoughtful survey of the events of the month which most of its readers regard as one of its most valuable features. From time to time he also contributes signed articles, some of which appear in his collected speeches and writings.

These cover a variety of subjects proving the diversity of his interests. For instance, an appreciation of Sir George Grierson, well-known as an authority on linguistics, stands cheek by jowl with an article on "Dogmatism and Sufiism in Islam." An appreciation of Sir Mirza Ismail, the successful administrator of Mysore, is followed by a thoughtful and illuminating review of Dr. Ambedkar's book on Pakisthan, in which, basing his conclusions on the facts and figures supplied by the author, Dr. Sinha shows the insuperable difficulties which stand in the way of implementing it.

Another noteworthy set of contributions are concerned with reviews of books on India from the pen of such Englishmen as are opposed to the conceding of larger political powers to Indians, an attitude greatly resented by Dr. Sinha. Attention may be called to the criticisms, strong and yet in perfect good taste, of books like Al Carthill's *Lost Dominion* and *Garden of Adonis*, and of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's memoirs—books which are not ordinarily studied by the younger race as they deserve to be. The nationalism of the true Indian, however, is still more clearly manifested in his articles "The Alleged British Conquest of India" and "King Edward VII and India," in which he has displayed not only intimate knowledge and grasp of historical facts but also resentment with the position taken by Lord Curzon and King Edward VII that Indians are not fit to occupy responsible positions.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that Dr. Sinha is incapable of gliding easily from "grave to gay," for many of his signed articles in the "Hindusthan Review" are humorous in character, as for instance his survey in prose and verse of the Sapru-Samuel Hoare controversy which appeared in 1932.

IX

This brings us to the question of the kindly and yet telling humour of which Dr. Sinha is a perfect master. The curious thing is that those who come in contact with him casually would not dream that he possesses this rare gift of poking good-natured fun at all including himself. This faculty of laughing at himself is shown in a very humorous contribution from his pen entitled "The Woes of the Imperial Councillors," which appeared in the "Leader" of Allahabad in 1910. Equally witty and telling was the speech Dr. Sinha delivered in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in September, 1934, while supporting a motion for the appointment of a Committee to examine the excise policy of the Government, thus proving the spontaneity of his humour. That advancing age has not dried up this rare gift is shown by the addresses on bulls and blunders he delivered at the Bihar Youngmen's Institute, Patna, in 1940.

All this has been said merely to prove that Dr. Sinha continues to retain a young and cheerful heart in a body no longer young. Many of his friends feel that the physical health, the intellectual alertness and the capacity for continuous hard work which characterise him are due not only to the regular life he has been leading but also to this attitude of his towards life.

X

No reference will be made in the present article to the services rendered by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha to the cause of Indian nationalism which are so varied and so valuable as to need a separate treatment. The only thing which should be observed in that connection is that, whether as a Congressman or, since 1920, as a constitutionalist, he has always stood for the enlargement of India's political rights and that in doing so he has never departed from or compromised with the ideals which have always guided his activities as a public man.

The collected writings and speeches of Dr. Sinha taken as a whole deal with such a large and interesting variety of subjects and are illustrated with such a wealth of facts gathered from sources not generally known to ordinary readers, and his arguments are strengthened by so many apt quotations from recognised authorities, that the contents of this volume are bound to appeal to readers of all tastes and opinions. It is also correct to state that few among the public men of India can claim to have participated in so many types of public work and to have thrown so much light on our problems. This volume should, therefore, appeal equally to the Indian and to the non-Indian desirous of acquainting himself with the

attitude of the educated among us to such questions as have come up for discussion for the last three decades.

Sir C. Y. Chintamoni, in his *Indian Politics since the Mutiny*, was perhaps one of the first to refer to the present-day tendency to either ignore or belittle the valuable services in various directions rendered to India by the elder race of Indian public men. It is also undeniable that, carried away by their immediate preoccupations, Indians belonging to this *nil admirari* category are only too apt to overlook the difficulties they had to surmount, difficulties inherent in the small measure of political power we enjoyed formerly, as well as the indifference of the Indian public to our social, economic and political problems. When we remember the work of these men, we are compelled to regard their detractors as pigmies compared with the giants when they criticise so foolishly and so glibly.

Most of these men have passed away so that today one may count them on one's fingers. Among the survivors we have today Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri, Sapru, Natesan and Malaviyaji and last, but not least, Dr. Sinha, the Grand Old Man of Bihar. Those of us who are younger than this noble band of unselfish Indian patriots but older than the present race of workers in the national cause and who are more familiar with the extent and value of the work they did, cannot but look with trepidation on their disappearance from the public life of India. Let us all hope and pray that they may be spared long to carry on their activities and to establish a tradition of devoted work from which there will be no departure now and hereafter.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN "PEGGING" ACT

P. KODANDA RAO*

I. INTRODUCTORY

IN their communiqué, dated the 27th April, 1943, the Government of India declared that they were in "full accord" with public opinion in India that the "Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act" was "repugnant, unnecessary and inopportune! Indian opinion has gone further and demanded retaliation against South Africa. The Hon. Dr. N. B. Khare, the Indian Overseas Member of the Government of India, convened an informal conference of leaders at New Delhi on the 7th July to consider the matter, and it is understood that a majority of the Indian members advocated retaliatory measures. As the first step in this direction, the Indian Reciprocity Act, passed by the Indian Legislature in April, 1943 and which has since been declared unworkable because of defective drafting, has been perfected in August, 1943. On the debate on the "Pegging" Act on the 30th July, Government announced that other steps were under consideration. Another and very serious crisis has been reached in the relations between India and South Africa.

II. THE LAWRENCE ACT: TRANSVAAL

The Act under discussion, which may be called for convenience the "Lawrence Act" after the Minister in charge of it, consists of two parts, one applying to the Transvaal and the other to Natal. The Transvaal part consists again of two parts. The first extends till 1946 the *protection* originally granted in 1932 to Indians who were, according to the anti-Indian laws of the Transvaal, in illegal occupation of land. The protection was to last until steps have been completed to stabilise their status. This is expected to take some more time. Hence the extension. This part is non-contentious and is for the benefit of Indians.

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* Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, the author of this article, is a member of the Servants of India Society, and was Private Secretary to the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri for over a decade, particularly when the latter was connected with South Africa as a member of the Indian Delegations to the two Cape Town Conferences in 1927 and 1932, and as the first Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa in 1927-28. Since returning to India, Mr. Rao has been a frequent contributor on the South African Indian question in the *Servant of India*. He attended the informal conference of leaders which the Hon. Dr. N. B. Khare, Overseas Member of the Governmemt of India, convened at New Delhi on the 7th July, 1943, to discuss the recent anti-Indian legislation in South Africa. (*Editor*, CALCUTTA REVIEW.)

The second Transvaal part extends till 1946 certain *restrictions* on Indian occupation of land and premises and on Indian trade which were for the first time imposed by the Stuttaford Act of 1939. It was designed to "peg" Indian occupation and trade as in on the 30th April, 1939, and prohibit expansion thereof into so-called European areas. The Minister of the Interior was given power to give exemptions, but he never gave any. And that was the intention. It also provided that *no new trade licenses were to be issued to Indians for the sole reason that they were Indians, without the previous sanction of the Minister.* And the Minister was to use his power in order to prevent Indian business spreading into what are called European areas, and he faithfully discharged the obligation.

III. Natal

The second part of the Lawrence Act deals with Natal. It says that *no transaction between a European and an Indian concerning the ownership or occupation of land or premises is valid without the sanction of the Minister of the Interior.* This applies not only to direct ownership and occupation but also to the purchase of even a single share in company having such rights. The law applies immediately to Durban and may be extended to other places in Natal, and its currency is from the 22nd March, 1943 to the 30th April, 1946, though it may be terminated earlier. In permitting inter-racial transactions, the Minister may take into account the needs, civic and other, of each racial community. On the face of it, the law merely interposes the Minister in inter-racial transactions regarding property. It applies to Indians as well as to Europeans. But its purpose is to stop Indian "penetration" into European areas. It is based on the second Report of the Broom Commission which said that Indian penetration in Durban had remarkably increased since its first Report in 1940, according to which, there was some penetration between 1927 and 1939. It was not, however, of a magnitude which the Government felt called upon to prohibit by law.

IV. Another Commission

In introducing his Bill, Mr. Lawrence announced the decision of the Union Government to appoint a judicial commission, with Indian representation thereon, to enquire into the adequacy of the civic and other needs of the Indian population in Natal.

V. Union Government's Case

It may be noted at once that the South African Government also recognised that the legislation was inopportune, they considered it necessary;

in fact, forced on them by the action of some Indians themselves. They admitted that it was repugnant to India, and, to some extent, to themselves. Speaking in the Union Assembly on the 14th April, 1943, Field Marshall J. C. Smuts, the Prime Minister, said:

> We are compelled to take this action and we regret it, and we had hoped that it might not be necessary for us at this stage and at this time to come forward with a measure of this kind. We had hoped that during the war, at any rate, we would not have to deal with a matter of this kind which is bound to raise very widespread differences of opinion and which is contentious not only in South Africa, but in a neighbouring country with whom we are on the most friendly terms. . . . Still more do we regret it that we have to give the appearance, at any rate, of going against a country like India for whom we have the greatest respect, who are engaged with us in a common struggle today, whose armies are fighting the same battles with us, and that we have to take a step which seems to go against them which they take as an offence against them, and that we appear to be at issue with the Government of India. All these reasons are very grave reasons for us not to have taken this action but we have no choice. . . . This issue has been forced on us, and it has been forced on us by the Indians themselves.

How did the Indians force this apparently reluctant action? Gen. Smuts said:

> I do not make the charge against the whole Indian population . . . but evidently there are a number of rich Indians, not only in Natal but also in the Transvaal and perhaps elsewhere who think this is the time now to make trouble, this is the time to *invest their wealth in properties in a place* which the Government is bound to defend. They must have known that the challenge would be accepted. (italic ours.)

Which is the place, and how is investment a trouble? The Prime Minister explained:

> We are today faced with this position that in Durban, which is a European city and which we are determined to maintain a European city, that European character we shall not allow to be invaded or spoilt in any way, we are faced in Durban today with large scale penetration.

According to the Prime Minister, the investment by rich Indians of money in properties in Durban, which is a "European" city, spoilt its "European" character and amounted to a challenge to Government.

He assured, however, that the legislation was an *interim* measure which was meant to "peg" the situation as it stood that day for three

years only, and that it did not postulate any large-scale or long-range policy. He gave an indication of his long-range policy and how it was to be secured. He was opposed to the proposal of Dr. D. F. Malan, the leader of the Opposition, who was formerly the Minister of the Interior, who presided over the two Round Table Conferences in Cape Town between the Governments of South Africa and India and who concluded the Cape Town Agreement in 1927 and renewed it in 1932. Dr. Malan's proposal was that the segregation policy of the Transvaal should be applied to Natal also. In opposing it, Gen. Smuts said:

> The Leader of the Opposition has suggested the application of the Transvaal Law to Natal.....I am afraid that will never do, I do not think that a measure like that you could get through this House and I do not think it necessary either.....A measure of that kind would I should say be outrageous and impossible of passing through this House or of making the country accept. Any policy which steam-rollers the Indian community will have repercussions which will react disastrously against the European people in South Africa.....I think a solution by consultation and perhaps largely by agreement between the two communities will solve most of the troubles that we are facing today.

It will be noted that Gen. Smuts wants the European character of Durban, for instance, to be maintained, and Indian penetration, if only for investment, should be forbidden for some time, and that a permanent solution should be secured by agreement and not by legislation. He was opposed to racial segregation by law. Opposed as he was to penetration, he was not willing to stop it by law as long as it was on a small scale. He felt it necessary to intervene only when it grew in magnitude. He said that the first Broom Commission had disclosed that

> there was a certain measure of penetration, but not in a way which we thought called for extreme action. But since that report was made at the end of 1939 the whole position changed..... We would have been satisfied to let the position rest and give further thought and consideration to the whole subject if the position had remained as it was in the first Broom Report. But the situation disclosed now in this second report leaves us no choice whatever.

VI. Durban, a "European" City

Such is the case of the Union Government, as put by the Prime Minister. He started by laying down as the basic proposition that

Durban was a *European* city which Indian penetration spoilt. Mrs. V.M.L. Ballinger, a representative of Native Interests, rightly pointed out:

> Durban is not a European city; Durban is a South African city, and like all South African cities, its wealth and prosperity has been built up on the combined effort of a number of racial groups. Durban is a South African city, and a great deal of the wealth and prosperity and comfort of Durban has been built on the labour and service of the Indian community, which was brought to this country to serve the people of Natal. The bulk of that Indian population was settled in the old borough of Durban.

Mr. G. K. Hemming, another representative of Native Interests, quoted a statement of Sir Liege Hullet of Natal, made in 1908, which said that:

> Durban was absolutely built up on the Indian population.

And he exclaimed:

> And that is the town which we are told is essentially and only a European town.

VII. Investment in Property

Granting that Durban is a European town, how is its European character spoilt by Indian *investment in property* in that city? Gen. Smuts criticised Indians for investing their moneys in property instead of in war bonds. He complained that certain Indians,

> instead of putting their wealth into war loans, as they might easily have done, used their wealth to undermine the European position in a place which we are bound to defend.

Indians were not the only community in South Africa who invested their wealth in property and not wholly in war bonds. Mr. Hemmingway said that

> the records of real estate transactions for the past few years in the Union approximated £59,000,000, which shows that other people than Indians are realising the necessity of investing their wealth in property.

According to the second Broom Report, the total *accelerated* investment by Indians in Durban between Oct., 1940 and Feb., 1943, which provoked the Lawrence legislation, amounted to £600,000.

As to the causes of investment and recent acceleration thereof Mrs. Ballinger said:

> Every section of the community suffers from spasms of fright at the possibility of economic collapse. That is the reason for

> the purchase of property by the Indian community. I have seen the same thing among European population. I have seen them rushing to buy property in case of collapse of the money market so that they may have something tangible to fall back upon, and I say that we are not justified in placing any section of the community in a position of inferiority to another in this respect.

The Broom Commission gave more comprehensive reasons for Indian investment, which it considered natural:

> The abnormal conditions brought about by the war undoubtedly play some part. The majority of the more wealthy Indians are engaged in trade. The facilities for trade are at present restricted, and a considerable amount of money that would be normally absorbed in trade is in consequence seeking other avenues of employment. Many Indians, for religious and other reasons, decline all forms of investment that involve lending money at interest, and a great many of them, as pointed out by many previous Commissions, regard purchase of immovable property as the only desirable investment other than trade. Europeans, on the other hand, with alternative forms of investment that appealed to them, are not driven by abnormal present-day conditions to purchase immovable property to the same extent as Indians. The Commission is satisfied by the statistics produced by the (Durban) City Council that Indian property-buying has increased to a greater extent than European and that is what one would expect.

Indian investment in the old borough of Durban is not due to any desire to undermine the European position. It is no challenge to Government, as Gen. Smuts thought. It is just investment, for which there could be no objection whatever. It should be noted that the Lawrence Act not only prohibits the acquisition of property directly but also the purchase of even a single share in a company which has such rights:

VIII. Residential Penetration

Gen. Smuts can with wider justification argue that it is not Indian investment but Indian occupation and *residence* cheek by jowl with Europeans that spoilt the European character of Durban. Col. C. F. Stallard, of Natal, the Minister of Mines, was more frank on the subject when he said:

> we are not prepared to amalgamate, or even live in very close juxtaposition to each other.

Mr. D. B. Molteno, another representative of Native Interests, said:

> I have always understood that the genuine objection to Indian penetration is mixed occupation. That objection is shared by the Indian on his side:

This is common ground between Europeans and Indians though for different reasons. If Europeans do not want Indians to live among them because of their contempt for them, Indians have no desire to intrude on Europeans amongst whom they are unwelcome. If some Indians do so, it is for reasons other than the desire for hostile European neighbourhood. The Broom Commission was emphatic about it.

> Before we leave this subject we desire to repeat that we do not believe there is any general desire on the part of the Indians to live among Europeans. Where they have aquired properties in European areas they have been actuated by the desire to make money or by the desire to live in areas that are attractive to them for *reasons other than the presence of Europeans*. (italics ours)

The Broom Commission said that European areas are attractive because of "the lack of housing and civic amenities in predominantly Indian areas," which lack is, in its turn, due to the fact that "the needs of a particularly voteless section of the rate-payers have been frequently overlooked or their fulfilment postponed to the vocally more urgent needs of other sections." It went on to say that residential penetration was encouraged by the Cape Town Agreement, under which the Union Government offered to help Indians, who wished to attain to so-called "western standards of life," to do so. The requisite environment is at present to be found in European areas and not the Indian, because of municipal neglect.

Residential penetration is due not only to the rise in the standard of living of Indians but also because of the growth of the population and its inevitable expansion into contiguous areas, wherever possible. The old borough of Durban has an area of 8,200 acres. Indians, who number about 25,000, occupied in 1927 an area of 204 acres. In 1940 they occupied 360 acres. Even so, they, who form a third of Durban's population, occupied only about 4·5 per cent of its area. They are mostly working people and are situated in the middle of Durban, which is the centre of business. Their expansion was naturally into contiguous areas which at one time were occupied by Europeans and which have since been abandoned by them but not because of Indian penetration. Mrs. Ballinger brought out the point well:

> Can any one tell me how a community settled in the middle of Durban, a working and trading community growing in numbers,

> is going to be stopped from spreading out into areas which at one time were European? Where are they going to spread to? It seems idle to assume that areas which in 1927 were predominantly European areas should remain so without considering the whole question of population, without considering the question of increase and expansion.

Apart from the causes of residential penetration, the extent of such penetration does not seem to be significant. For the Broom Commission reported that in 13 years, 1927-1940, there were 130 instances of it in Durban, the Indian population of which is about 25,000. The second Broom Report, which noted the acceleration in penetration, said that most of it was not residential but economic.

As Mr. Molteno said, even the acceleration since 1940 was due to the demand, which became insistent in 1940, of the Durban City Council for legislative prohibition of penetration. It was natural for people, when so threatened, to seize opportunities while they were still available. If there had been no threat of legislation, perhaps there would have been no greater acceleration than would have warranted by other, and mostly economic, causes revealed by the Broom Report. Mr. Lawrence himself acknowledged that penetration was the inevitable result of ecconomic forces to which Indians were subjected. He said in 1941 on similar legislation in the Transvaal:

> But since the passing of the Act of 1932 Asiatics had *penetrated through compulsion*, through *economic pressure*, through having nowhere else to go—they had been compelled to penetrate these areas. It was a *question of economic pressure, a question of having to choose between that or having no means of livelihood.* (Italics ours.)

In which case, the prohibition of penetration is wholly unjustifiable whether in the Transvaal or in Natal.

IX. Mr. Hofmeyer's attitude

When in 1939 the Stuttard Act was passed imposing certain new restrictions on Indian trading and occupation in the Transvaal, Mr. Hofmeyer, who was formerly Administrator of the Transvaal and subsequently Minister of the Interior and Minister of Finance, resolutely opposed it on the ground that they had no justification. So determined was his opposition that he faced expulsion from his political party over the issue. When, in 1943, the restrictions were extended till 1946 in spite of the facts to the contrary disclosed by the Broom Report, he

opposed them, and offered to resign from the Smuts' Cabinet over that issue. In the end, he openly disassociated himself from them. He opined that the legislation was a "surrender to race and colour prejudice" and "an unjustified prolongation of an unjustified piece of discriminatory legislation."

But he lent his support to the Natal part of the Lawrence Act of 1943, though with regret from some points of view. He defended his position on the ground that it was temporary, that it was not discriminatory at any rate in form, that it was based on ascertained facts, that it was for the moment limited to Durban and that it was accompained by a promise to institute a comprehensive enquiry into housing and other civic needs of Indians in Natal. He admitted, however, that the non-discrimination was only in form, and that "in practice, no doubt, it could not quite work that way." Mr. C. R. Stewart put it more frankly and sharply:

> On paper there must be beautiful principles as to how they (coloured races) should be treated, but in the dark they must be pinched .....Here in this Bill the Minister is now putting the Asiatic on the same footing with the European but surreptitiously gives a kick in the pants.

As regards the facts, it has already been shown that Durban is not an European, but a South Africa City, that Indians had contributed largely to its development, that they form a third of its population and they are settled in the middle of the old borough, that Indian penetration is largely for investment and not for residence, that it was inevitable and legitimate, that even residential penetration was largely due to municipal neglect of Indian areas and that it was no challenge to Government, and that facts did not justify the legislation.

As regards the temporary character of the Lawrence legislation, Mr. Hofmeyer himself admitted that it was rather "naive" of him to believe that would be so in Natal unlike what it was in the Transvaal. He said truly, though sadly:

> No doubt it will be said that the Transvaal legislation was introduced as a temporary legislation, and now it is coming to be more and more permanent.

Mr. Hofmeyer, like most other Europeans in South Africa, advocates general residential segregation of Europeans and Indians but only by voluntary and not statutory means. He suggested in 1939 the combination of the ideal of residential segregation with the ideal of the Cape Town Agreement that Indians should be helped to western standards of life. He surrendered that position when he acquiesced in the Natal part of the Lawrence Act.

X. Retaliation: Reciprocal Disabilities

There can be no doubt that the Lawrence Act is, in the words of the Government of India, repugnant, unnecessary and inopportune. The Union Government themselves practically admitted the same. And yet they enacted it. If ever India is justified in declaring war against South Africa, it is undoubtedly this. For lesser causes wars have been fought. The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1901 is an instance. Since India cannot declare war against South Africa successfully, retaliations of other kinds have been suggested, as, for instance, the imposition of reciprocal disabilities on South African Europeans in India, trade boycott and the recall of the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa.

The Government of India have not been opposed to retaliation against South Africa, in principle. As long ago as 1919 they proposed, as a specific measure of retaliation, that South Africans should be refused facilities for mining in India. The only relevant question is the effectiveness of retaliation in securing the desired end. The Reciprocity Act has been perfected. But it has very serious limitations. For instance, South African Europeans in India, who, by the way, do not number more than 150 as against about 2,30,000 Indians in South Africa, cannot be denied the franchise by any action of the Indian legislature, because franchise qualifications are part of the Government of India Act, which the British Parliament alone is competent to amend. It is not clear at the moment if such amendment is proposed. There are few, if any, South African European settlers in India. Prohibition or limitation of ownership of land will hardly hit any of them. Their segregation for residence, and in post-offices and railways, is difficult, if not impracticable. It is not easy to distinguish at sight South African Europeans from other Europeans and limit discriminations to the former alone. At best, the imposition of reciprocal disabilities may irritate the Union Government but is unlikely to deflect their Indian policy.

XI. Trade Sanctions

As regards trade, India's share in the export and import trade of South Africa is very small. Of South Africa's exports, India's share was about 0.8 per cent. in 1938 and 1.3 per cent. in 1939, and of imports, 1.8 per cent. in 1938 and 2.4 in 1939. There is reason to believe that Indo-South African trade has gone up considerably since the war began, but it is not clear if India's proportion of the total South African trade has also gone up. Considering its small magnitude, it is doubtful if its stoppage will compel the Union Government to modify its anti-Indian policy.

An analysis of Indo-South African trade shows that Indian jute products form the largest single item imported by South Africa, while South African wattle bark is the single largest item imported by India. In fact, South Africa depends on India almost entirely for her jutes, while India depends on South Africa almost entirely for her wattle. If India stops her exports of jutes, South Africa may retaliate by stopping her exports of wattle.

Apart from that, the reciprocal trade now operating between India and South Africa is, it may be presumed, of vital importance to the war effort of both countries. Stoppage thereof is bound to affect it. It is doubtful if the Government of India, as at present constituted, has either the will or the power to do anything which may adversely affect the war effort either of India or of South Africa. Moreover, the South African Indian Congress, according to *Reuter's* cables, was torn between its loyalty to the pro-war policy of Gen. Smuts and its bitter opposition to his anti-Indian policy and finally decided to support the former as against Dr. Malan's anti-war policy. If South African Indians, who, in 1939, before the war, contemplated passive resistance against the anti-Indian legislation of that year, did not contemplate similar action now, and were anxious not to embarrass the war effort of the Smuts' Government, India may well hesitate before embarking on trade sanctions which are bound to affect the war effort of both countries.

XII. High Commissioner

The recall of the Indian Commissioner is not likely to have any retaliatory significance in South Africa, much less deflect its anti-Indian policy. There has been a growing demand from the South African Europeans that, since the great bulk of Indians in South Africa were born in that country and were as much South African subjects as, say, the Natives, India should not interpose herself between the South African Government and its Indian subjects. Dr. Malan himself, the father of the Cape Town Agreement, has repeatedly insisted on its formal termination and the withdrawal of the Indian High Commissioner. Gen. Smuts resented South African Indians' appealing to India. Should India recall him, she will be obliging South Africa and hurting only herself. It was a fortunate circumstance that, when Crown Colonies like Kenya and Fiji have resisted successfully India's desire to have Indian Agents, South Africa, an independent Dominion, requested India to send an Agent. It is to the interest of India to persuade South Africa to retain the Indian representative. It will be an irony that India herself should

recall him. Once she does so, she will find it very difficult to recover the lost position.

If the Indian High Commissioner has not been able to avert anti-Indian legislation, he has often been able to soften the blow, and that is not a thing to be despised. If he has not been able to do more, it is not because of the limitations of his office but of India herself. If India withdraws him, she will be withdrawing herself from the South Africa scene altogether. It may be noted that Indians in South Africa, while suggesting the recall of the High Commissioner, have at the same time appealed to India to help them. India can help them best with her Agent there.

Ineffective retaliation is more harmful and humiliating than no retaliation at all. Threats, which South Africa knows to be impotent, are not likely to influence her to the better. It is the task of statesmanship to salvage, and not to sink, the ship.

CHINA'S CULTURAL FRONT

LIU YIH-LING

"HOW could ill-equipped China resist a first class world power for such a long time?" This question has been put to me very frequently since I came to India. One could answer this question in various ways. I would only like to say that the secret lies in "total mobilization." When a nation of 450 million people is totally mobilized, no force of arms can crush her.

In this short paper I intend to deal principally with the cultural mobilization. China's writers fight with their pens just as soldiers fight with their guns and it may be emphasised in this connection that just as our armed forces are united into a single front, so also there is now a complete unity of thought among the Chinese writers such as hardly existed ever before. With really a singleness of purpose, China's writers, poets, playwrights, journalists, and artists wage their war with pen and brush, which is no less implacable than what is waged by their comrades in arms.

In the early stage of the war, the productions of the pen, I must admit, were mere propaganda sheets. But even then though, from the aesthetic point of view, they might have been vulgar, they served successfully the aims of the war by arousing the enthusiasm of the people. They were like bullets, once discharged they were no more. The cultural fighters at that time never purported that their works would go down to posterity and become classics. War slogans, for instance, were put in between the lines of poems. In fact, literary productions were at this stage as hurried and crude as were our military manoeuvres and operations.

Later on, it was perceived that literary works, even if to be really effective as propaganda must be properly conceived and artistically produced so that they may have far-reaching instead of only temporary effect. A few principles were laid down by the Ministry of Education, by way of bringing it home to our writers that not only they should have a uniformity of aim and march in uniform formation to achieve it but that their works, besides arousing the enthusiasm, must interpret clearly the ideals that the war stands for. Their works must reflect truly the war itself. They must as much describe as inspire deeds of heroism and bring out, besides, the eternal verities of human nature.

These principles have now been at work for sometime past and it is good to say that the creations of our authors and artists have now sound aesthetic value although the propagandist intention is there as before. I had my happiest moments when I went to our theatres to see the modern plays, which gave faithful representation of our war-affected life, of the valorous deeds of our heroes without hiding their human weaknesses, of the patriotic enthusism of our younger people who at the same time crave for personal popularity and of the feelings of our traitors (who were treated as the most detestable devils by the playwrights at the early stage of the war) who, though excusing themselves, secretly sent their children to Free China so that they might grow in more congenial environments. Humour has returned to the stage. There is laughter besides tears, enjoyment besides excitement. When you quit the theatre, you feel that you have been flattered as connoisseur of good art, instead of being treated as a mere hypnotized crowd. At the same time, you feel that you understand the ideals of the war better than before you went in, and that your faith in the national cause has been so strengthened as to enable you to serve it with greater energy and vigour. Unfortunately I cannot describe here in detail the contents of the plays and the styles of each playwright. What I can say is that this development of the stage in China is one of the characteristics of the war period. The causes of this successful development are, I believe, two: first, the importation of Hollywood movies has become almost impossible after foreign communications have been cut off, thereby turning the attention of the people more and more to the stage, secondly, performances on the stage yield more profit than any other kind of literary work, thus giving increasing encouragement to the writers and actors who have to cope with the high living standard of war-time. These conditions, just like conditions that give rise to a special trade, give rise to China's war-plays and their performances. Of course, besides these material advantages, there is the undeniable fact that the playwrights, directors and actors do put their heart and soul into their art, as other artists do in their own fields, for the national cause.

The devotion to national cause has been never higher than in the case of the journalists. It is a well-known fact that the newspapers in Chungking did not stop publication even for one day, during the continuous day and night bombing in the summers of 1939, 1940 and 1941. But the life of the journalists in the rear is certainly less hard than the life of those who are working at the front or in the enemy occupied areas. The war correspondents at the front brave every hardship of a soldier for which they had never been trained. Often they risk their lives in carrying out their duties and actually there have been many casualties.

The journalists in Shanghai, at the time Shanghai was neutral as British and French concessions, though surrounded by enemy troops, faced assassination and murder at every moment by the Japanese "Spies." They were, in spite of the efforts of the European Municipal authorities, undefended against such crimes. They were armed by no deadlier weapons than pens. Many of them were consequently killed with impunity. The National Government conferred on them orders of honour, which they certainly deserved. It was in this spirit that China's newspapers made a great stride toward progress. And for this reason *Ta Kung Pao*, a private daily at Chungking, won the journal medal of Missouri University of America in 1940.

I am rather inclined to put China's war-time novelists into the category of journalists, for the simple reason that they are working in the same places and facing the same difficulty and danger as the journalists, and their descriptive articles on the war-affected life are published in newspapers, not in books. Some such reports I have read; they are as heartening and interesting as novels. Our time is a novel time when actuality itself is more exciting and romantic than fiction. A faithful representation of it is better than the product of sophisticated imagination only. Though no comprehensive novel has been published at the moment (at least it has not come to my eyes), I believe great works will be written once the war is over and the writers get peace-time facilities. We must not forget that Remarque's work "Nothing Happens in Western Front" came out years after the last war. Here also I must say that there are story writers who stay at home and write about the war in comfortable chairs. They have no intimate knowledge of the war, but pick up second-hand hearsays to be the subject matter. Their works are not so appealing to the war-minded readers, and, therefore, can hardly be liked by them. The writers of this type, probably having observed this, abandoned the war themes entirely, and have now gone back to their usual subjects. They write stories and fictions which, I admit, make pleasant reading, but which are not to be included in to-day's subject.

War has never been before an inspiration to Chinese poets whose usual theme is the beauty of nature. But this war, which is one for the defence of their motherland, has become such an inspiration to them, Chinese poets sing aloud what they call the "Great Epoch." A preface to a book of war-poems says "the war itself is an epic. Any language that springs from it, that truly reflects it, that describes it, that expresses what people feel about it, is a true poem." This is the feeling which all the poets of China have now in common. The old school still clings no doubt to traditional poetic forms, but the new school carries on its experiment of

" spoken-language verse. " Both, however, are working to the same purpose, *i.e.*, to help win the war. The difference, so far as the war is concerned, is not between the old and the new school. It is, as far as I can observe, between the poets who sing the war and those who sing for the war. From the pure artistic point of view, the former are naturally better, but how far they are of service to the war is more than what can be measured. But the latter, the poets who sing for the war, do, I believe, render great assistance to war efforts. These poets are those who have compiled songs to be sung by soldiers, guerrillas, volunteers, home guards, wounded soldiers, and so forth.

The combined efforts of the song-compiling poets and the musicians are really remarkable. The great epoch needs a great voice. The exquisite tunes of peace-time, meant to be sung by tea-house girl-singers to the accompaniment of fiddle instruments, no longer suit the requirements of war-time. New songs of great virility had to spring forth. They are chorused by the fighting men as well as by civilians. Any military officer will tell you how marvellously do the songs and marches enhance the morale of the men. They keep them cheerful at all times and greatly heighten their fighting spirit.

It is remarkable to observe that singing lessons are given to nearly every private and public organisation. In every such organisation a chorus band of selected singers is formed. In case any organisation is too poor to afford a big gathering hall, its members stand together in an open space, with the written songs posted on a wall, or, in case a wall is not available, on a wooden board. Singing is no longer a classroom monopoly. On every street corner, in great or small cities of Free China, on every day from morning till evening, in every public meeting, rural or urban, singing voices are heard. A European who escaped from Hongkong, recently came to India, and told me that during his two months' travel through the provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweiyang, and Yunnan, in every town he visited he heard the rich volume of mass singing which he had never heard before. " It is," he said, " the voice of New China."

Such success is due largely to the personal inspiration of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. It perhaps sounds strange to you that such a minor thing as singing has to be taken care of by a national leader. But it is a fact. As a soldier he knows how great is the value of military songs to an army, and how much greater it would be to the people as a whole. As a classical scholar he knows that vocal science is a branch of old Chinese culture, which had been frequently emphasized by Confucius as one of the two basic means of successful political administration, and worth while reviving. In the *Central Training Corps* at Chungking, of which the

Generalissimo himself is the President, and at which he lectures at least twice a week to the members who are high military or civil officers of the various parts and departments of the country, a class of Teachers of Music and Singing has been set up. Two hundred trained teachers are pouring out from it every half-year, thus supplying sufficiently the demand of singing China. In the Ministry of Education, with Mr. Chen Li-fu at its head, who promotes singing with great zeal and directs it with a healthy policy, a musical committee, with the best musicians as its members, has been in operation since 1940.

Artists, too, have done, and still are doing, their bit. They help the war by selling their pictures to raise funds for wounded soldiers, war infants, etc. I know a reputed artist who worked day and night painstakingly in order to arrive at the point of one million dollars sale of his paintings. How far, however, do China's artists help the war by the art itself is hard for me to say. In the various exhibitions, individual or collective, that I have seen, there was hardly any picture that had connection with the war. Perhaps it is because the convention of art in China is so war-disgusting that the Chinese artists have no technical inheritance to work with. Perhaps there are other reasons also. Anyway, paintings and drawings are the least war-influenced of all arts. Though there can be seen propaganda pictures posted on street walls, they can hardly be called works of art.

In the art of wood-cut, the case, however, is entirely different. Two or three years before the war, there was already an enthusiasm for wood-cut. When the war began and the ports were blockaded and then lost, the importation of photographic films and other accessories became impossible. The fields that would otherwise have been covered by photography are now covered by wood-cut prints, thus giving them a stimulant, and in my opinion they are far more artistic than photographs. They present our war-affected life very faithfully and vividly. The wood-cut artists are mostly young intellectuals who are never afraid of the hardships of the frontline. It is through them that we know more intimately the life in guerrilla battles from where they collect for the most part their subject matter. In some of the exhibitions, I observed with great delight the impressiveness, the authenticity, and the concrete-mindedness of their technique If this art was invented by ancient China, we can safely say that it is now revived with greater technical success than ever. A painter has paid high tribute to wood-cut pictures by saying that the brushes in this war are lagging behind the chisels.

BEATRICE WEBB (1858-1943)

WEBBS are great names in the history of British socialism. The stupendous work which they did in partnership during full half a century will live when many names, now so prominent and seemingly so great, will be lost in oblivion. This partnership which began in July, 1892, and proved so effective and so fruitful during the following fifty years was dissolved in May last by the death of Beatrice who, though senior in age, allowed others to call her the junior partner of the firm of Webb and Webb. But although her life of eighty-five years was lived more fruitfully and productively than in most other instances, the news agencies appear very strangely to have ignored its end in their cables to this country. It seems that in these hard and difficult days we have lost much of our sense of value.

Beatrice was born in January, 1858, of a family which was in origin a middle class one but which 'arrived in,' and became part and parcel of, the London "Society" as a result of the commercial and industrial efforts of two generations. Her grandfather rose from the ploughshare to the Parliament and her father losing a large portion of his inheritance in the crash of 1847 devoted himself assiduously to business and became a magnate with great influence in different fields. With the accumulation of wealth and influence, political ideals of the family also changed very considerably. The first Richard Potter was, as became a rising industrialist and a unitarian nonconformist, a radical, a member of the Anti-Corn Law League and a great admirer of Cobden and Bright. But the son grew to be a conservative and disliked the Reform Bills which provided in the latter half of the century for extension of franchise.

Beatrice, born an eighth daughter in this rich family with ramifying connections with the London Society, was expected to follow in the footsteps of her elder sisters and marry wealth and connection. If she felt pity for the poor, as it was fashionable in those days in high circle to feel, she might join the Charity Organisation Society and salve her conscience by playing a prominent part under its auspices. But the beaten track was not for her. Her mind, stimulated by the intellectual ferment of the age, gravitated towards realistic studies, which in their turn made her a convert to socialism. It is significant that Herbert Spencer, the great individualist philosopher, was a friend of her parents and had no small influence in disciplining her mind and arousing her intellectual and

literary aspirations. He did not, however, succeed in inculcating his principles in his pupil who cut adrift from his moorings and gradually secured other affiliations. But while Beatrice refused to swear by the principles of the philosopher, possibly her spirit of investigation into social facts was imbibed from his practice of collecting fossils and other biological specimens—the practice which he followed not unoften in her company.

Reference has just been made to the intellectual ferment which swept the country during the last quarter of the 19th century. It was no less keen than what was created half a century before it by Bentham, his followers and detractors. This ferment was felt in the Potter family itself. Some of the elder girls had been married to persons with keen intellectual and political interests. One was Leonard Courtney, the other was Henry Hobhouse and a third was C. A. Cripps (later Lord Parmoor). It was not that Beatrice would accept their views and even methods of approach of social and political questions. But exchange of ideas would stimulate her aspiration and sharpen her intellect. There was again a cousin, Mary Booth, daughter of Charles Zachary Macaulay, the brother of the historian and married to Charles Booth. This latter gentleman took upon himself the responsibility of initiating a survey of the life and labour of London in order that accurate figures might be ascertained as to the percentage of four million people of this city suffering from poverty and destitution. The investigation was spread over a decade and a half and ultimately yielded the result that thirty per cent of the people were poor and destitute.

Beatrice who had already passed through a period of apprenticeship in this kind of investigation willingly co-operated in this work. She had resolutely taken to economic studies and had mastered the writings of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Karl Marx and Alfred Marshall. What is more she had also in disguise studied at first hand the actual conditions of living of the labour population. Charles Booth's enquiry* offered her a fresh opportunity of widening and strengthening her experience. Before long she also undertook to write the history of the co-operative movement in England. It is interesting to remember in this connection that Alfred Marshall, the famous Cambridge exponent of economic theory, whom she saw about this work, tried to dissuade her from pursuing this study. He had little faith in a woman undertaking to write a serious book on co-operative movement. "A book by you on the Co-operative Movement I may get my wife to read to me in the evening to while away the time,

* Bernard Shaw tells us that Booth undertook this enquiry as to poverty to prove that it did not exist.

but I shan't pay any attention to it," he observed with shrill emphasis. How little had the professor gauged her ability and foreseen her achievements.

It need not be recorded that Marshall's discouragement had no effect on the unperturbed spirit of Beatrice. She continued her work and this persistence provided an occasion for meeting for the first time her future partner—partner as much in life as in work. Failing to get at the sources of information as to the movement of co-operation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, she applied to historian Lecky whose reply, however, did not satisfy her. A woman journalist now referred to the name of Sidney Webb. He is " your man," she observed. A meeting was arranged and proved successful. It was followed by frequent and still more frequent meetings and ultimately resulted in a friendship which again ripened into love. Her father had been for some time confined to bed through an attack of apoplexy from which he did not recover. While he remained lingering, an open announcement of the engagement was out of the question. To a group of private friends, however, it was made known. In January, 1892, Richard Potter died and six months later they were married.

Sidney Webb was born of a lower middle class family in London and entered the Civil Service first as a Second Division clerk at the age of sixteen. But by attending the evening classes of the London University he improved his intellectual qualifications and as a result of an examination in which he acquitted himself with great credit was promoted to the First Division and posted in the Colonial Office. Here he worked for ten years during which period he was not satisfied with merely performing the duties assigned to him in the office. He was called to the bar and what is more he became one of the leading lights of the Fabian Society. This famous body which was the first organisation to hold aloft the banner of socialism in England had been set up by other leaders. But in March, 1885, Sidney Webb became associated with it. Almost simultaneously Sydney Olivier and a little later Graham Wallas and Bernard Shaw also joined it. These four worked together in close friendship and by their joint efforts made the Fabian Society a force to be reckoned with. It may be known that in the eighties its membership was only forty but that only a small group of workers may give a new direction to the thought of the people by sheer earnestness and high intellectual ability is illustrated very notably by the stir which the Fabians created in England. When Sidney met Beatrice for the first time, he was still at the Colonial Office. But a year before their marriage, he resigned the Civil Service post. He had already made a modest economic

provision for himself and decided henceforward to carry on with the work which was nearest his heart.

From the bald outline of this early career of Sidney Webb it would appear that he was an exceptional man, with not only great intellectual ability and but with high moral and political ideals. But even the relatives and friends of Beatrice Potter were sorely disappointed in the marriage which she contracted. With her birth, social connections and high intellectual attainments, she was expected by them to marry a Cabinet Minister, if not a Prime Minister. When she chose a man with only lower middle class affiliations and socialist views, they naturally regarded the selection as nothing short of a scandal. But Beatrice had made her choice and got the partner after her mind and heart. They together had an income of one thousand pounds per year and this, they thought, would provide them with opportunities for work to which they had dedicated themselves. They settled down in a modest home in London which they changed only in 1929 when they transferred themselves to a country house in Passfield. Most of their investigations were carried on from this house in London and with the exception of Soviet Communism all their great books were written here. It was from here again that Sidney went forth to contest the elections for the London County Council and the House of Commons and it was from here that he attended their meetings for years. All the work that was done during the fifty years after their marriage and all the contributions which they made to human knowledge and public service during this period were joint efforts of both. It is true that Sidney was a member of the County Council and the Parliament and she was not and it is true that she was a member of the Poor Law Commission and he was not. But in whatever field they might work jointly or individually, one was assisted by the other in the collection of facts and influenced in the formulation of ideas and conclusions. It was only in keeping a diary that she acted alone. Some of the early portions of this diary were made the basis of a work which she published only in her own name in 1926 under the title, *My Apprenticeship*. The rest of this work will, when brought to public view, throw a flood of light upon many dark corners of the political and social history of England during the last half century and more.

The first great book to which they turned after marriage was *The History of Trade Unionism*. To-day thanks to their pioneer work and the contributions of many more scholars who followed in their footsteps, anybody who desires to know anything of British trade unions will have his facts ready for him to swallow. But in the early nineties these facts lay scattered in dusty files in the offices of different trade unions

in the country and many were stored only in the memory of the officials of these bodies. It should be known also that before they took up the study of this subject, none had cared for it. Karl Marx had not attached any importance to it. The Fabian Society had ignored it and Mr. Sidney Webb himself had his notice eluded from it before his closer association with Beatrice

It was in fact her find. While engaged in her co-operative studies, her attention was drawn to it and even before marriage she had conducted some investigations into it. After marriage they settled down to this work. The *History* was published in 1894 and *Industrial Democracy*, the companion volume, was brought out three years later. The *History* took the public by storm and the Webbs awoke one morning to find themselves famous. The popularity of the book may be gauged by the fact that it has been translated in seventeen languages and although many books have been written on the subject since its first publication it has not been replaced.

After trade unionsim, the Webbs turned to local government in England, including of course the poor law administration. This is a subject which they pursued for a quarter of a century, and they published the results of their enquiry in volume after volume. As in every other case, they followed their own method of investigation in this great work as well. They would first of all read everything that has already been written on the subject. When they had digested all the materials so acquired, they would formulate a questionnaire and by their secretaries and by themselves they would interview persons who might throw new light on the subject. In respect of local government for instance they interviewed officials and members of the local bodies, those at Whitehall connected with their administration and also those who were affected by this administration. When reading the documents and collecting the facts by interviews, they developed a method of their own in regard to note-taking. Once the facts have been collected and systematised, every topic and sub-topic would be discussed between them and then one of them would sit down and write it out.

Mrs. Webb put her best into the work of the Poor Law Commission which was appointed in 1905 by Balfour's Government. She was absolutely in her element as a member of this body and for four years she made arduous efforts to persuade the Commission to make recommendations to her liking. Apart from the facts which she elicited by questioning and cross-examining the witnesses who appeared before it, she carried on her own investigations on parallel lines. But her efforts were in vain. The majority could not converted to her points of view. She had to sign

a minority report but this document, separately printed and published, held the pride of place and remained immensely popular in the country for well nigh fifteen years. About twenty-five thousand copies of this report were sold altogether. For a blue book it was certainly something extraordinary. But as the majority of the members of the Commission did not see eye to eye with her in the recommendations which the minority report contained, so the Government, advised by John Burns, the President of the Local Government Board, would not act upon them.

The last great work of the Webbs is *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation.* In its first edition published in 1935 the title had a question mark after it. But in the second edition it was removed. The two bulky volumes compact with facts have done much in removing many of the misconceptions of the outside public as to the state of things in the U. S. S. R. In fact no publication has made the system at work in Soviet Russia more accurately known to the outside public than this great book. The Webbs had been deeply interested in the new experiment in Russia long before they decided to write upon it. For years they studied every book on the new Russia which was available to them and discussed this topic with every man who had worked and travelled in Russia. It was, however, not until the fall the second Labour Government in 1931 that they could study at first hand the political and economic system which had been reared and experimented in the Soviet Union. Before they proceeded to visit Russia, they read and analysed all the relevant publications on the subject and then for sixty days they travelled up and down the European portion of the Union. During this period of two months they visited all the relevant institutions and talked with all relevant people.

For any one of the many great books which the Webbs produced, an individual may not only become famous but may have claim on the gratitude of the posterity. It certainly testifies to their wonderful single-mindedness and infinite capacity for work that they produced volume after volume on three different subjects and that each of these volumes is exhaustive in regard to facts and full of wisdom in regard to observations. Speculation will naturally arise if any one of them singly could have done even half of the work which they have actually done in partnership. This partnership is really one of the most pleasing facts of literary and political history. Two persons, even husband and wife, after living together for a few months in such close coutact and collaboration, should in the nature of things get on each others' nerves. Instead we find these two persons reading together, writing together and walking together from day to day for half a century without even smelling to each other.

Credit for this rare phenomenon must go to both. There was only one occasion when Beatrice withdrew from the partnership. In 1929, when the second Labour Government was formed, Sidney agreed to go to the House of Lords as Lord Passfield to act as the mouthpiece of the Government in that chamber. Mrs. Webb, however, refused to change her name. She said that she had changed it once and was unwilling to change it again. She refused to be addressed as Lady Passfield and bravely and boldly used the name by which the firm had already been so well known for about four decades.

Before this short notice of the career of Beatrice Webb is concluded, it appears pertinent that something should be recorded as to the kind of socialism which she and her partner preached and practised. It should be known that they uniformly nailed their mast to the principle of gradualism. "Socialism in our time" preached since the twenties by the Independent Labour Party left them absolutely cold. Its concomitant, socialism by revolution, was a greater anathema still. What they believed by socialism was principally the extension of the social services and greater efficiency in administration. To this end they also pinned their faith to an increasing municipalisation of many of the services which are still run on the basis of private profit. The Webbs, it should be emphasised, were also, inspite of socialism, first and foremost English patriots with pride in the of their achievements country and with hope in its future destiny. As greatness of England depended largely on the maintenance of the Empire, no talk of dissolving it appealed to them. During the Boer War they had no qualms of conscience as to its necessity. When again in 1914 England declared war against Germany, they supported it readily as being necessary. They gave no quarters to the pacifists and conscientious objectors. Nor were they disappointed that the idea of international labour solidarity was proving a myth. It is difficult to say if we should call them imperialists. But their position may be best understood if it is pointed out that among the Conservatives their best friend was the late Lord Balfour and among the Liberals the late Lord Haldane. It may naturally be asked as to how with such views they could be attracted to the Soviet Union and become an admirer of its institutions. The reply consists in their love of efficiency and in their demand for evoking from the nation the best that it is capable of. No country and no institutions have drawn out from the people more within twenty years than the Soviet Union and the Soviet institutions have done. So inspite of their gradualism, parliamentarism and even imperialism, they became admirers of Soviet achievements.

FALL OF MUSSOLINI

DR. NARESH CHANDRA ROY

NO news was more welcome to liberty-loving circles in the world than that which informed us of the fall of Signor Mussolini. He it was who started the reaction against the principles and forces of democracy and liberty which were particularly released by the victories of the Allies in the last World War. His was the first dictatorship to scrap democratic government at home and inaugurate ruthless tyranny abroad. It was his example which was emulated with greater ruthlessness and efficiency by Hitler in Germany. It is but poetic justice on this account that his fall should precede that of his imitator and ally across the Alps.

It is too early yet to speculate as to what the Badoglio Government, which has succeeded Mussolini's, will do in regard to the war. Many had expected that, with fascism rolled up and its leader put out of the way, the Government would order cease fire and surrender to General Eisenhower. But, although this expectation has not come true, it is unlikely that Italy can resist very long the onslaughts which the Allies are making. The fall of Mussolini has itself shown that feelings and opinions are extremely divided in the country and that the spirit and the atmosphere which make for success in the conduct of war are altogether absent. In view of this it may not be undue optimism to think that it will not be long before Italy comes into Allied hands and becomes a base of Allied operations against the main enemy.

Since unification in the last century, this country has been included in the list of Great Powers. This was largely due to the courtesy which other powers wanted to show to the traditions of Rome and to the respect which they felt for Italy's size and population. But that her strength was only of the second class was proved beyond doubt in the last War. Nor can it be said that it has improved very much since then. The hysterical addresses of Mussolini and the goose-steps to which he condemned the army and the fascist militia helped possibly in creating a false impression in many circles, which judge only by the exterior, as to the development of Italian strength during the fascist regime. But that such strength was mostly a show was again proved beyond doubt both in Abyssinia in 1935-36 and in Greece in 1940-41. Without the barbarous

use of mustard gas the Abyssinians who fought only with bows and arrows could not be defeated and without the assistance of the Nazi army the poorly equipped and vastly outnumbered Grecians could not be deprived of their freedom and liberty. If further proof was necessary as to Italy's unfitness for the role of a first class military power, it was amply supplied in the many encounters in North Africa and then in the fields of Sicily.

In fact, whatever the outward façade might be, Italy is still a half-developed country, half-developed both in respect of material resources and in respect of moral fibre. Until the sixties of the last century Italy was, as some loved to call it, a mere geographical expression. She was divided into a number of small principalities, each, with the exception of one, being ruled by tyrants, foreign or local, clerical or lay. Savoy was given a parliamentary constitution in 1848, but the other provinces continued to be administered only according to obscurantist principles. The people everywhere were consequently narrow in their outlook and partiotism. Their only bond of union was the common written language. Their spoken dialects were, however, different. As for traditions, those inherited from the Roman days had been largely overlaid by the particularist excrescenses which had accumulated during centuries. Most people, particularly of the south, were, again, utterly illiterate and hopelessly ignorant. Superstition of the grossest kind was rampant in all circles. Crime of the most dastardly type was an everyday affair. Trevelyan, in his vivid description of the life and character of the Neapolitans on the eve of Garibaldi's invasion of their country, has told us in so many words that most of these people were actually living at this time a half-savage life. This was the result of gross misrule and tyranny prolonged for centuries.

The people of the Risorgimento, who belonged mostly to the upper classes, were inspired by high ideals of national unity and democratic government. They exploited very adroitly the favourable internal conditions and external relations and succeeded in liberating and unifying their country. But pathetic as their confidence was in the destiny of the Italian people, it cannot be said that most of them had any clear appreciation of the problems of Italy. They believed that liberation and unification were by themselves achievements which would place their country in the desired position among the powers of the world. It is unfortunate that the new kingdom did not throw up leaders and statesmen who would place their fingers on the dark spots of the national life and remove them without fear or flinch. Ignorance and poverty were the foremost problems to be tackled. Democratic government could not flourish in environments poisoned by them. Ignorance was to be fought by the promotion of

education and more education, and poverty was to be removed by the development of agriculture which was still extremely backward and by the establishment of industries which were absent.

But the leaders were—most, if not all, of them—mere politicians and no statesmen. They were experts in making permutations and combinations of divergent groups in the Chamber of Deputies and in keeping themselves in power without discharging their real responsibilities. The prevailing conditions were in fact far too unfavourable for far-sighted and efficient government. The sense of unity was still only skin-deep. People really thought not in terms of the country as a whole but in terms of their respective provinces. Jealousy among the Deputies coming from different parts of the peninsula was always noticeable. Added to this was the tradition of forming cabals and making cliques—a tradition inherited from bygone days. Political organisation on right and sound lines was in fact out of the question. The constitution, which was modelled on that of Great Britain, had, therefore, to be worked in other environments. No wonder that it failed to produce the desired results. Ministries were unstable and short-lived. Between 1876 and 1891 there were as many as thirteen of them and between 1900 and 1922 there were nineteen. With an executive so shifting, no planning was possible and none thought of. Even the performance of routine duties was negligent and inefficient. The Deputies who held the life of a Cabinet in the hollow of their hands always interfered in the administration and made it corrupt, unjust and dishonest. Self-government was enjoyed to the full but good government was absent.

The difficulties of the Government were further increased by the consistent hostility with which the Papacy pursued the new Kingdom. Ever since the occupation of Rome by the Piedmontese King and the withdrawal of temporal authority except over the Vatican from the Pope, the latter had refused to recognise the Italian Kingdom and its rule by Victor Emmanuel and his successors. He shut himself up in the Vatican palace and never set foot outside it, lest it might give out the impression that he was accepting the new regime in Italy and reconciling himself to the loss of his temporal powers. Much of his hostility was, of course, only a show which the Pope had to keep up for the sake of his international position. If he gave up all attempts to get back his temporal authority and recognised Rome as the capital of the Italian Kingdom, he might appear to be reduced to the position of a mere chaplain to its King. This would certainly have sapped the foundations of his international position as the head of the Catholic faithfuls throughout the world. But while part of the hostility was for show, part, influenced by the Jesuits and

other extreme clericals, was genuine and as such was a great impediment to efficient government in Italy.

Unable to solve the economic problems in the country by promoting education, improving agriculture and developing industries, the Italian Government turned very early in its career to a short cut—the exploitation, by imperialism, of the territories of more unorganised and backward peoples. The vast and fruitful territories in Asia and Africa were being exploited, for the benefit of white peoples, by Great Britain and France. Why could not Italy, which was also a Great Power by virtue of unification, follow in their footsteps and solve thereby the problems of a growing population ? This was, of course, a far cry from the teachings of Mazzini. But the principles which were inculcated in a nation struggling to be free were not necessarily to be followed by it when it had achieved its freedom. So long as Austria had maintained her stranglehold over Venetia and Lombardy, it was necessary and just to cry aloud against imperialism. But now that Italy was a first class power, it was but meet that she should come out for its insignia—territories abroad. There was only one mistake in the calculation. Imperialism, however immoral, may succeed when it is practised by a well-organised national power. But Italy was far from being a well-organised national state. It might secure an empire through the co-operation and good will of other Great Powers but it would certainly not be able to maintain it in the teeth of their opposition.

The Italian Government, however, in its search for remedies for internal ills, resorted madly to imperialism, wherever and whenever it became possible. The country called Eritrea was conquered by 1882 and formally organised as a colony in 1890. Occupation of what became Italian Somaliland was soon undertaken, though it was not formally constituted as a directly administered colony till 1905. The Italians had cast longing lingering looks upon those tracts in Northern Africa which could be reached only by moving straight across the Mediterranean waters. They were baffled in Tunisia by France in the early eighties. But Libya was still open for conquest. In 1911 an ultimatum was issued to Turkey and an Italian force was landed in Tripoli. The war with Turkey went well and in the following year Italian occupation of this African province was recognised. In the same war the islands off the coast of Asia Minor, commonly known as the Dodecanese, were also occupied by the Italians, and after the first World War Italian sovereignty over them was acknowledged. Eritrea and Somaliland were not by themselves very profitable propositions, though the conquest of their territories had made Italy an empire. So it was regarded as urgent that Abyssinia should also be brought under the Italian banner. But in 1896 the forces of Emperor

Menelik proved too strong for the ill-disciplined army despatched by the Government at Rome. At Adowa the former secured a resounding victory. The Italian forces met with a disastrous defeat, which was avenged in 1936—only by the use of mustard gas.

Reference to Tunisia has already been made. This was the African province which lured the Italians most. Nearest to Sicily, it was regarded by divine dispensation as belonging to Italy. But egged on by Bismarck, who wanted to create differences between Italy and France, the latter had forestalled the former in the occupation of this territory. A large body of Italians, however, came to settle all the same in this province, and in 1936 there were as many as 94,000 of them as against 108,000 French. It is no wonder, therefore, that towards the close of 1938 the cry of Tunisia should be raised in the packed Parliament of Italy and that Mussolini should think in 1940 of profiting by France's defeat and of stepping into her shoes in Tunisia. Another territory—an island—which was to be included in the Italian kingdom was Corsica, which Genoa had sold to France in 1768. Nice and Savoy were, again, territories on the Continent which were dear to Italian heart. The former was the native place of Garibaldi and the latter the cradle of the Italian monarchy. Both had to be ceded in 1860 to France according to the bargain which had been made with Napoleon III. But now that the Italians were convinced that France was decadent and Italy rejuvenated, they demanded their return, which, in fact, became a battle cry from 1938 onwards along with that for Tunisia and Corsica. It may be mentioned in this connection that some months ago, along with the occupation of the whole of France by German troops, Nice, Savoy and Corsica came under Italian possession. Only Tunisia could not be annexed. This proved significant. Her conquest by the Allied troops became a prelude to the invasion of Sicily.

The establishment of Italian authority over a few African provinces and the small islands in the Aegean did not lead to any solution of the economic problems of Italy. These territories had little material resources, the exploitation of which could make Italy rich and powerful. If she was really to be great, as she posed to be, it was essential that by education, training and organisation her population must be made more disciplined and efficient both as agriculturists and as industrialists. But neither before nor after the first World War anything was done in this direction. Politics continued to be dishonest and administration venal and inefficient. The close of the War, again, brought in its own special problems, to which little constructive attention was paid. Discontent broke forth, in consequence, from all directions. Parliamentary government, as it was worked in Italy, failed to cope with the situation, and no statesman appeared who could

either make the existing machinery more efficient or devise some other effective democratic system for the better the administration of Italy. The path was, therefore, kept open for quacks and adventurers. They fished in the troubled waters. Their leader was Mussolini.

Born in 1883 in the province of the Romagna, which in earlier centuries produced many adventurers, Mussolini was intended to be a school teacher. He actually secured in the Normal School the training necessary to this end, and even worked for some time as a teacher. But the quiet life to which he would have been condemned by this profession had little attraction for him. He left the school, took a trip to Switzerland and after doing odd jobs, many of them very hard, became a socialist agitator. In this he was in his element. In fact, the blood of the agitator was in him, his father, a poor blacksmith, being a fiery socialist with great confidence in the Second International. He made such headway in the socialist party and secured such influence among its rank and file as to be chosen in 1910 the editor of the socialist daily, the *Avanti*. For about four years he worked in this capacity and became noted as a socialist leader. Then came the War and with it his break with his party. For a time he advocated, along with other socialists, the neutrality of Italy. But very soon he cut away from these moorings. "The vanquished will have a history, but not the absent." So he demanded Italy's entry into the war on behalf of the Allies. Resigning from the *Avanti*, he founded a daily of his own to advocate his views, *Popolo d'Italia*, and later he joined the war himself, to prove that he believed in it fervently and that he was no coward, asking others to join and himself remaining in the background. This act of courage, whose value was enhanced by the many wounds which covered his body, stood him in good stead in post-war years. It brought him prestige and adherents.

Post-war years, it may be repeated, were difficult. The Government was at its wit's end. Many had lost their illusion as to the benefit of parliamentary government. The cliques and cabals which ruled only in their own interests had created a revulsion of feeling. As early as 1910 a Nationalist Congress was held and a Nationalist Association was formed on the occasion. Its object was to see that the interests of the nation, and not those of only a group or a clique, were upheld. Mussolini now proceeded to exploit this loss of prestige on the part of the parliamentary government. He collected together a few ex-service men in 1919 and formed the first *fascio*. He contested an election to the Chamber of Deputies in the same year but without success. But as strikes and lock-outs continued to disfigure the social and economic life of the country, Mussolini, who cried for national interests, had his prestige enhanced and

his following increased. His stock rose in the country. In 1921 not only he but thirty-five of his followers were returned to the Chamber and he became the chairman of the fascist parliamentary group. This party, he declared, stood for the spiritual unity of the nation. All separatist interests were to be given short shrift and only those of the nation should be cherished and developed.

Although he was in the Chamber, Mussolini pinned no faith to constitutional agitation. He did not want to come to power by constitutional means—by capturing the majority of seats in the Chamber in a free election. He armed and drilled his followers and made them virtually into a private army. The very fact that this step on his part was allowed, goes to prove the inefficient and rotten character of the Government of the country. While he was steady in his determination and clear both as to his goal and the methods of reaching it, the Government was divided, vacillating and unnerved. Unable to take definite steps against him and his party, the Government tried to conciliate him by offering him two seats in the Cabinet. He, however, gauged the situation rightly and refused to be conciliated by two seats. He went ahead with his organisation and at last in October, 1922, the March on Rome began. Facta, the Premier, at last took courage in both hands and ordered martial law to be declared. But the King, Victor Emmanuel III, refused to sign the order. Facta resigned and the King invited Mussolini to form the Government. A revolution was thus effected, though for two years the parliamentary façade was maintained. But in 1924 Signor Matteoti, the socialist leader of the opposition in the Chamber, was kidnapped and done to death. Mussolini denied at the time that he had any previous knowledge of the incident. But it has been proved beyond doubt that it was at his instigation that the murder had been committed. In any event, the hubbub which this murder created gave Mussolini the impetus to go to the logical extent of the revolution which he had begun. In 1925 the Government became exclusively fascist in personnel and organisation.

Much has been written on the theory of fascism and the technique of administration which it brought in its train. The theory is all bogus and bosh. The so-called idea of corporative state which the fascists were supposed to have created remained only an idea. It never really fructified. Then, again, the grand idea that in a fascist state the party represented the spirit of the nation and the leader embodied the spirit of the party remained as chimerical as in its origin it was. The fact was that the fascists, who had captured the machinery of the state by exploiting adroitly the peculiar conditions which prevailed in the country in post-war years, imposed their rule upon the rest of the people who did not dare any longer to protest.

While the party thus ruled the country by force, Mussolini ruled the party by all the tactics which a veteran in this line had learned by experience. The technique of administration, again, was nothing new and original. It was what had been followed through centuries by all tyrants. There was only this difference that if the medieval emperors in the east had applied slow-poisoning by *posta* to get rid of their less prominent political prisoners, the fascists happened to apply castor oil instead.

While the methods applied by Mussolini and his fascists in administering the country during the last twenty years were those of tyrants everywhere else, it cannot be said that the government was very inefficient during their regime. Foreigners who travelled in Italy particularly appreciated the fact that trains were now running to time. In agriculture, industry and other pursuits of life also, some healthy changes were wrought. But although we should not characterise the fascist government of Mussolini as inefficient, we have no reason to declare it as very efficient either. The fascists had as long a period to conduct their experiments in Italy as the Communists had in the Soviet Union. What is more, while the Communists were required to face uniformly a hostile world, the fascists had nothing but co-operation in all countries which mattered. It should be known also that Italy was better placed in 1922 in regard to progress in certain fields than the Soviet Union in 1918. But look at the moral and material progress which has been effected in the U. S. S. R. during the last quarter of a centnry and look at the progress which Italy has made during this period. The contrast reflects the true character of the fascist government.

Mussolini has been hurled from power. But would the monarchy endure ? This is a question which must have arisen in many minds. There was a time when the House of Savoy was taken as an indispensable element of the Government in Italy. The country had been liberated and unified under its auspices, and it was for years the most important and effective unifying factor. Without the King of this dynasty ruling over Italy, it would dissolve again into Piedmontese, Lombard and Neapolian divisions. But inspite of this knowledge of the great services of the monarchy, Italy was not in the past without her republicans. So long as Victor Emmanuel II was on the throne, all went well. None would dare to challenge his prestige. The followers of Mazzini, who was an unrepentant republican and who regretted till the last day of his life that Italy was unified under the auspices of the House of Savoy, had to go into hiding. After Victor Emmanuel's death in 1878 his son Humbert I came to the throne. He was unpopular almost throughout his reign of twenty-two years, and the republicans made headway in his time. But his murder

in 1900 created a revulsion of feeling against the republicans and revived the sentiment in favour of the monarchy. Victor Emmanuel III became more popular, and this popularity was increased by the propaganda of those who decried parliamentary government and wanted to set up some dictatorial substitute in its place. We do not know exactly what impelled the King to refuse his signature to the martial law order of Facta in 1922 and to allow the fascists to march on Rome. It may be that he fought shy of bloodshed which martial law would involve. It may also be that he was in secret sympathy with those who wanted to overturn the democratic and parliamentary government. The dynasty's future is uncertain.

Miscellany

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

TWO FACES OF MONEY

In the twentieth century every money has two faces. The first is the side of metallic, gold or other covers as determined by law. The other face is that of its value in exchange for goods,—the prices of commodities.

So far as the cover is concerned, there is as yet no sinister inflation of currency in India as there is no sinister inflation in England, the U.S.A., Germany, Italy and elsewhere. No currency has dared violate the legal cover principle up till now There has been no depreciation of currency from this standpoint.

In regard to the prices of goods the statistics of over fifty countries described in the *International Labour Review* for January, 1943, indicate that the indices have risen everywhere except in Canada, U.S.A., and Germany. India is not the *only* country of rise in price-index. Nor is India found to be the country of the *highest* rise in index. As against the Indian index of food-price in 1942, 177 (June), Mexico had 186 (October), Palestine 198 (May), Spain 319 (June), Chile 332 (September), Iran 365 (May) and China-Chungking, 4,171 (April). Wherever there is a *general rise* in prices, we have to admit tautologically nothing but an increase in the supply of money. This does not prove anything substantial, because the increase in the supply of money, *i.e.*, the expansion or supply of currency is the preliminary fact of the whole complex. The mere rise in the prices of goods—howsoever high they be—does not establish automatically the sinister character of the expansion or inflation of currency. No sinister inflation of money can then be admitted up till now.

ANTIDOTES TO MONETARY INFLATION

The inflation is not sinister but legitimate, reasonable and sound, belonging as it does to the very nature or A.B.C. of war effort. But all the same, the inflated supply of money is an ugly social fact. The general rise of prices is not an agreeable phenomenon to many classes of citizens. Although, therefore, the inflation is inevitable, natural and necessary, its consequences require to be curbed, modified or counteracted. This is what has been done in Germany, England and many other countries where the price-index has been reduced to relatively low levels. On the one hand, the state has pumped millions of monetary units into circulation. On the other hand, these have been withdrawn from or restricted in circulation by the state itself.

The methods by which the circulation of money has been restricted and controlled are well known. The first method is direct taxation of the most progressive type. The other method is the state-directed compulsion on every earner to save a part of his or her wages and salaries. This is a new tactic in public loans or national debts. The straight floatation of loans is another method, albeit quite traditional. Both these methods prevent the businessmen as well as citizens in general from indulging in purchases and functioning as users of money.

Inflation is then neutralized by these methods. The supply of money *vis-à-vis* goods and services is automatically reduced in quantity. Prices tend, therefore, to fall. India will have to take recourse to these two antidotes to inflation in a comprehensive and systematic manner. *

* A. G. Hart: "Flexible Taxes to Combat Inflation" (*American Economic Review* (March, 1942); *World-Economic Survey, 1939-41* (Geneva, 1941).

Round The World

Killing of Cattle

Killing of cattle for the purpose of supplying food to the military was the subject of a question in the Central Legislative Assembly. It was stated that only in the town of Gaya nearly 4,000 (four thousand) cattle are being killed everyday to this end. It was asked if killing at this rate would not seriously affect the cattle position in this country. The reply appears to be very unsatisfactory. We have been told that the number of existing cattle in India is far too large and its reduction by way of meeting military necessity is not undesirable. But what are the facts ? In the whole of British India, according to the figures contained in the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, there were 151 million cattle and buffaloes in 1924-25. From this it may appear no doubt that we have proportionately far more cattle than in other countries. This may be proved by pointing out that while in British India there were 67 cattle and buffaloes per 100 acres net sown area, in Holland there were only 38. But the Commission in providing these figures points out at the same time that in Holland horses are largely used in agriculture but in India we have to depend for this purpose only upon cattle. Many of them again serve an essential purpose as draught animals. Again it should be known that Dutch cows give anything from 5 to 10 times as much milk as Indian cows. On the basis of these facts one becomes extremely pessimistic as to the result of the killing that is now being pursued with impunity. It is true that in India proper care is not always taken of the cattle, which are under-fed, badly kept and have not unoften to shift for themselves. But the reduction in the number of cattle will not automatically result in the improvement of the remnant in this regard. The Commission referred to above made a number of recommendations for cattle improvement. But none of them, except in introducing here and there a few Stud Bulls, have been so far really acted up to.

Mr. Amery On the Empire

In an address to the teachers at York Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, dwelt at length on the future of the British Empire and India's position therein. He emphasised it that the British Empire was no longer in the stage in which the outlying parts were administered from Whitehall in the interests of Great Britain. Nor on the other hand, he gave us to understand, was it a mere personal union like that which existed at one time between Great Britain and Hanover. The British Empire to-day was no doubt, in the opinion of Mr. Amery, a union largely of self-governing units but the common link between these units was supplied not only by the monarchy but also by the spirit of free co-operation between the peoples of the different units. If this assertion of Mr. Amery is only wishful thinking, we wish him well. But the facts tell rather a different tale so far at least as the Indians in the Empire are concerned. The Pegging Act which was passed in South Africa only recently has not certainly escaped the attention of the Secretary of State for India. It provides us an excellent opportunity for appreciating the kind of co-operation which the white people in one important part of the British Empire is willing to extend to the Indian members of the same Empire and settled in the same part. Mr. Amery must have misgivings of his own in regard to the picture which he has drawn of the British Empire. Otherwise he would not have possibly warned his

audience that "Nothing can be of greater consequence to our own peace and to that of the world than to prove by our example that the free Commonwealth can embrace peoples of every race and colour and that the internecine conflicts of Europe need not be a mere prelude to even greater and more terrible racial conflicts in future." This is a wise warning. But we are not very much convinced that it will go home and make for much alteration in the principle and policy of colour discrimination now pursued with increasing brazen-facedness in different parts of the Empire. An absolutely equal constitutional status, both in theory and in fact, of India in the Empire may possibly help in the solution of the problem. Mr. Amery has referred in his speech to this status. But the Secretary of State is in the habit of saying things he does not mean.

Rights of Individuals

Recently Mr. Churchill raised the question of individual rights at the National Liberal Club. This was certainly a congenial place in which this subject could be discussed very fittingly. Mr. Churchill is also in a sense the fit and proper person to advocate individual rights. It is true that as an imperialist statesman, he has been responsible for the denial of these rights in territories which are politically dependent upon Britain. It is also true that as a war-time Premier he has to maintain a system of government under which individual rights have to be curtailed on many occasions and in many details. But apart from these, it may be known that although Mr. Churchill began his political career as a conservative, he soon walked across the house and remained in the liberal fold for more than fifteen years. Consequently he is no stranger to liberal principles and ideals. After the fall of the Coalition Government of Mr. Lloyd George in 1922 he ceased to be a liberal no doubt. But he had by this time become such a firebrand as an anti-socialist that as a counterblast to to collectivism he continued to be the champion of individual rights. So as it has been emphasised already, it was but proper that Mr. Churchill should speak on this theme.

The National Liberal Club was again the fit and proper platform on which an address on individual rights could appropriately be made. The British Liberal Party drew its original inspiration from the principles and slogans of the Utilitarians who believed in leaving the individuals as far as possible to themselves so that the greatest good of the greatest number might be achieved.

This doctrine of individualism was taken up enthusiasticaly and fervently by the stalwarts of the Manchester School. In fact British industrial expansion was very largely promoted on this basis. Later, John Stuart Mill who in his earlier days believed with so much fervour in individual rights of thought, discussion and action like his utilitarian predecessors became in the last phase of his life a believer in state control in many important and vital matters. Mill's conversion to this point of view undermined no doubt the fundamental basis of the Manchester School but individualism continued still to be a basic principle of British Liberalism even in the early years of this century. During the Premiership of Asquith the influx of the labour element in the House of Commons, however, made it essential for the party in power to make compromise with this creed and it was the Liberal Government which had to initiate the social services which have now grown to such huge dimensions. But the Liberals by making this compromise made their own position untenable. Either they were to go the whole hog and make themselves socialists in every sense or they were to side with the conservatives in maintaining the social structure as it stood. In fact they found themselves between two stools and thereby they made their position impossible. The Liberals will be remembered in history not for their half-hearted compromise with socialism but for the doctrine of individualism which they had preached and practised with so much ardour in earlier days.

Food for Starving People

Recently in a lecture at a joint meeting of the Physiological and Biochemical Societies at the University College of Science, Calcutta, Professor B. C. Guha referred to the amount and quality of staple food which an individual must take to make himself efficient for purposes of work. He pointed out that the Government of Bengal were thinking of providing only six *chattaks* of rice per head. Lest even supply to this extent should not be available for all, the Minister of Civil Supplies decided later to provide a kind of gruel once a day to the starving people, this gruel containing still lesser amount of rice and *dal*. The question is if the amount decided upon by the government had calories sufficient for any kind of work. The observations of Professor Guha in this regard are revealing. He points out that the requirement of an average person is about 2500 calories and that of a peasent is nearly 3500. In the allied countries of England, Canada and the U.S.A. calories more than what are barely neceseary are being provided to all the people, although England has to import the greater portion of her food from outside. In Germany which has been on ration since pre-war days is still providing in average 4000 calories per head and for heavy workers 5000 to 7000. But in Bengal the Government was thinking of six *chattaks* of rice per head per day, which would not contain even 1500 calories. As for gruel referred to above, it is unlikely that it would contain even 500 calories. People living on this diet cannot be expected to have the energy and strength necessary for any kind of work. Children and young persons living on it for any length of time during this period of their life are expected either to die out altogether or to grow into physically disabled people. The future of the province would certainly appear to be more than gloomy if such a diet only can be provided by the Government to a large body of its inhabitants.

Nationalism or Dissolution ?

Mr. Mathews, who had been in India for a year as the corrrespondent of the New York Times in India, recently summarised his impressions of the Indian political scene in his journal. The full article has not yet been available to us but a summary of his opinions concerning important aspects of Indian life has been cabled to a newspaper in Calcutta. From this it is possible to conclude that Mr. Mathews has become rather pessimistic about the future of Indian Nationalism. He tells us that the people he met with in this country mostly regarded themselves as Hindus, Muslims, Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, Punjabis and Bengalees, very few of them really regarding themselves as Indians, first, foremost and always. The Indian National Congress stood for India and believed in Indian nationalism as a matter of principle. But, Mr. Mathews observes, very few of even the leaders of this organisation thought really in terms of India as a whole.

We wish the reading of the Indian scene by this famous newspaper man of the United States was positively wrong. But it is not to our credit that we cannot find much fault with his observations. While throughout history there has been a fundamental cultural unity in India and while it should be recognised that political unity has been at all times the aim and purpose both of our theorists and of our practical statesmen it is no use cavilling at the fact that India has been *par excellence* the land of diversity. Centrifugal forces have possibly nowhere been more active and virile than in this country. During the nineteenth century and the early years of this century the Indian National Congress stood and acted unreservedly for nationalism. The late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale who was one of the greatest leaders of this body made the declaration of nationalism an essential condition for the entry of any person into the Servants of India Society which he founded.

But it is regrettable that during the quarter century which has elapsed since his death there has been a considerable departure from the ideal which he cherished and practised. Nor can it be said that the ideal of nationalism is being infringed only by the emphasis which is being placed on religious communalism. Territorial provincialism has also become a bane of Indian politics. It is unfortunate that this provincialism has been encouraged and stimulated even by great educational leaders and high ranking Congress stalwarts. If India is to save herself from Balkanisation it should be the first and foremost duty of the leaders of the Congress to preach and practise nationalism as their creed. For the evils of sectionalism we need not go very far. Across the Indian border the great country of China remained incapacitated for years and fell a prey to all kinds of foreign exploitation because of political division and disunity. We should not also forget so smoothly our own state of things for one hundred years after the death of Alamgir. It seems we are heading now towards the same divisions which would mean the death-knell of India as a political power. Let us take time by the forelock.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Lenin's Russia and **Stalin's Russia.**—By Louis Fischer. Published by Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Introductions and Bibliographies by Lalita Kumarappa. Price As. 8 each.

It appears from the introduction to the second of these books that Mr. Yusuf Meherally met Mr. Louis Fischer when he came to India to report on the Cripps' proposals and sought and obtained his permission to publish extracts from his book *Men and Politics* in which this writer has given his impressions on the various men he had met as a free-lance American journalist.

The first of these pamphlets contains Fischer's reactions to the Soviet Republic when he had first gone to Russia. His picture of Lenin, his explanation of his hold on his countrymen, the importance he has attached to the efforts of the people as a whole to make Bolshevism a success, are interesting.

In the second booklet, we find a disillusioned man who notices with regret the gradual elimination of the leaders by Stalin so as to secure a supreme position for himself. Most interesting of all is Fischer's explanation of the reasons which led those under trial for treason to admit their guilt and to corroborate one another's statements.

The very definite conclusion Fischer draws as the result of his wide experience is put as follows:—

"I have lived in all the major dictatorships—Russia, Germany, and Italy. My experience teaches me that democracy, with all its faults, is better than any of these. My experience teaches me that the maintenance of personal freedom should be the primary consideration of every human being. It is never a choice between freedom and a full stomach. No dictatorship has given either. Only men and women who have freedom and who have not seen it abolished in dictatorships can fail to understand what it means to be deprived of it."

Muktir Sandhane Bharat (in Bengali).—By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by S. K. Mitra and Bros., 12, Narikelbagan Lane, Calcutta. Pp. xiv+484. Price Rs. 2-8.

Well documented and closely reasoned, this book written in Bengali is a history of nationalism in India and contains a Foreword from Acharyya Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray. The preface gives the reader an idea of the method followed by the author in writing his book. Here he modestly refers to certain investigations he had conducted in regard to the origins and early history of nationalism in Bengal in pre-Congress days, part of the results of which he has incorporated in the first part of his book. The history of nationalism as expressed through the Congress has been brought down to 1939 and is fairly complete. The period 1885 to 1939 which falls into various stages has been treated in separate sections and the broad characteristics of each have been brought out and explained with ability.

There is more than enough evidence to show that the author has not only spent considerable time and pains in collecting his materials from various not easily available sources, but also that he knows how to draw his conclusions from them. Nor, as is often the case, has he allowed his predilections as a nationalist with strong Congress sympathies to lead him to exaggerate the services rendered by our oldest, strongest and most influential non-communal political organisation.

Written in Bengali and therefore primarily for his own countrymen, Mr. Bagal has done exceedingly valuable work by collecting and placing before his readers a carefully written, well-connected and faithful history of the services rendered to the cause of Indian nationalism by Bengal. This fact alone should make his book valuable to the Bengali and win him the love and admiration of his countrymen. Doubtless other provinces such as Maharashtra, the Punjab and Madras have done equally valuable services but, so far as the present reviewer is aware, there is no authoritative history of them in English though it is probable that there might be such accounts in their vernaculars.

It is this fact which makes the reviewer feel that probably Mr. Bagal would have done well by writing his history of the Congress in English so that our non-Bengali brethren might have an opportunity of knowing what our province has done and thus been encouraged to follow in his footsteps. Even if this cannot be done at present, it is suggested that at least the materials which appear in the first part of his book should be used for writing a series of papers in English which, the present reviewer feels sure, would be welcomed by one or other of our more well-known monthlies published in English.

Special credit is due to Mr. Bagal for his very clear exposition of the part played in the development of Indian nationalism by Bengali religious teachers such as Ram Mohun Roy and Keshub Chandra Sen, Ram Krishna Paramhansa and Vivekananda, Rev. K. M. Banerjee and K. C. Banerjee, Bengali journalists like Harish Ch. Mukherjee, Sisir Kumar Ghosh, Narendra Nath Sen, Bengali dramatists like Girish Chandra Ghosh, Bengali writers like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindra Nath Tagore. It is also refreshing to find that Mr. Bagal has not forgotten to assess at their true value the work done in the same direction by men of an earlier generation such as Peary Churn Sircar, Naba Gopal Mitra, Raj Narain Bose, Monmohan Bose and Mahendra Nath Sircar, to mention only a few among them.

The reviewer has laid special emphasis on this part of the work as he feels that it is likely to appeal most strongly to the readers, a very large majority among whom are bound to be Bengalis. This, however, does not imply that the rest of the book does not contain hitherto unknown facts or that when he has used old and well-known materials the author has nothing new to say. Mr. Bagal has not only used the standard and authoritative literature on this subject but has very often gone out of the way and unearthed fresh materials from sources not known to the average reader.

Written in flawless, flexible and racy Bengali in the use of which the author has already established his reputation as a well-known journalist in our province, Mr. Bagal deserves the gratitude of his countrymen for supplying a long-felt want—a connected and up-to-date history of the Congress in Bengali.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Metaphysics of Value, Vol. I.—By K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar, M.A., Asstt. Professor of Philosophy, Maharajah's College, Mysore University. (University of Mysore Studies in Philosophy, No. 2). 1942. Pp. xiv+645.

The irresistible impression with which the painstaking reader leaves off the study of this illuminating, and in a sense pioneering, work in contemporary metaphysics is that the volume under review has created a landmark in philosophical thinking as being the monumental production of an erudite scholar with first-rate critical and constructive talents. That this is no mere senseless exaggeration of the merits of the book is amply borne out even by a rapid survey of the topical headings of everyone of the fourteen chapters of the first volume, which are uniformly instructive and informative. The First Part deals with "General Principles of Values" in six chapters; while Part Two treats of "the Kingdom of Values" extending over eight chapters.

Premising that "value is in its nature 'emergent' upon the affective-volitional life of man brought into relation with the outside world," the author essays his metaphysical construction on the foundational relation of fact to value, of existence to worth, of 'ought' to 'is.' Incidental thereto are such basic concepts as the 'object' having value and the 'subject' who values, the genesis of value and its fluctuations, the psychological presuppositions of the value-judgment. Following in their wake are the further questions of the distinction between intrinsic and instrumental value, the commensurability and comparability of values, and the human good or well-being *vis-a-vis* the absolute good or value, if any. Then, in the next place, he resorts to what may strictly be called "the critique of values," which concerns itself with different realms of value and the determination, in a graded hierarchy, of the relative position of each type of value—economic, political, aesthetical and ethical—in the economy of life as a whole. The study of 'Normatics' and the normative point of view, therefore, form the key-stone of a metaphysics of value. As against the advancing tide of the abstractionist and intellectualist tendency of the scientific method in philosophy, of which Mr. Bertrand Russell may be regarded as the classical representative in our own time, our author rightly stands up (p. 32) in defence of the 'Normative' standpoint of the world of Appreciation which is on principle pledged to the salvage of 'the whole range of value-experience in human life.'

A detailed review of the author's construction through criticism is, by the very nature of the case, impossible. All that is possible and, indeed, desirable, from the reviewer's point of view is an authentic and authorised version of the theme which has inspired this volume. "From first to last, the philosophy sketched in these pages," to quote the author, "is a philosophy of freedom: freedom in the economic, social and political spheres, freedom gained by knowledge and truth, freedom enjoyed in aesthetic contemplation, freedom achieved by living the moral life; freedom in this world even when spirit regards itself as merely human, freedom transcendental when it comes to realise its essential divine heritage." Noble words are these, and nobly are they expressed! But 'the second Armageddon,' which 'is with us and upon us' with its enslaving 'lust for power' as the 'only one value' above everything else, affords an ironical commentary on this lofty ideal of spiritual freedom or worth. Nevertheless in the face of cataclysmic changes that await us round the corner, and the infinite shiftings of the cosmic dust, what is of abiding importance and value is this unshakable faith in the intrinsic values of life which alone can breathe a fresh hope—a hope withal 'that creates' itself out of 'its own wreck'—for a 'New Order.'

Viewed in a wider perspective the publication of a treatise on the metaphysics of value in the face 'of the present holocaust of humanity and human values,' is neither before nor behind its time, but is as much a timely reminder as a warning to all constructive ventures in the realm of philosophical thinking. It is needless to add that the second volume of such a worthy publication on worth and worthiness, with its promise of a discussion of the *summum bonum* of man as well as a consideration of the metaphysical implications of value theory, will be eagerly awaited by every reader of the first volume.

S. K. DAS

Kabya-Guchchha (in Bengali).—By Kumudnath Das. Published by the Book Company, Calcutta. Rs. 2-8.

Fashions change in poetry as in cloths and manner, but beyond all change, there are some fundamental features which remain the same. Sj. Das has attempted in his poetry to catch the spirit of these eternal verities of life and to give them a simple and permanent form. Ultimate truths are always simple

and often commonplace. Sj. Das is not afraid of the simple and the commonplace. His work is marked by sincerity and depth, and a quiet note of reconciliation with the world. The poems collected in this volume represent his development through many years and reveals a sensitive soul at odds with experience gradually achieving contentment and peace.

HUMAYUN KABIR

Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors.—By Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1941. Pp. xi+289, with two Plates. Cloth bound, Price Rs. 3.

Students of Indo-Iranian (Aryan) linguistics will agree with me that the publication of this work is quite a landmark in the history of linguistic studies in India, as it is unquestionably the first serious and scientific contribution from an Indian scholar (outside of the Parsi community for which Iranian studies is a special heritage preserved by both tradition and study) to the comparative linguistics of Indo-Aryan and Iranian in their earliest phases. In this work we have in the first instance the *corpus* of the Old Persian inscriptions of the Akhaimenian emperors in a very handy form, in a rigidly 'scientific' Roman transcription and a literal English translation; but what is more—and this adds to the special linguistic importance of the publication—we have here an Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic) *chāyā* of all the inscriptions, which is Dr. Sen's distinctive contribution, cognate *equivalents* of the Old Persian words and forms whether actually occurring in Vedic and in later forms of Indo-Aryan or whether capable of being reconstructed with the help of linguistic apparatus, and not mere *translations*, being given after the Old Persian: a case of finding *pratirūpas*, to coin a word in Sanskrit for cognate or linguistically equivalent forms, rather than *pratiśabdas*, which has put to a test Dr. Sen's scholarship in Indo-European and Aryan linguistics, and from this test Dr. Sen has come out with brilliant success. Work in this direction was attempted long ago, *e.g.*, by the Polish scholar C. Kossowicz in 1872 who gave a paragraph from the Bisutun Inscription of Darius in its Indo-Aryan equivalents in his *Inscriptiones Palæo-Persicae*, and we can mention L. H. Mill's Sanskritisations of the Avestan *Gāthās* (1894). The medieval Parsi scholar Neryosangh (c. 1200) made a *translation* of the Avesta into Sanskrit; but only after the development of Indo-European linguistics in the 19th century that work of the nature accomplished by Dr. Sen in the book under review could be possible. Before him Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī essayed a philological Sanskrit rendering of the *Haoma Yasht* of the Avesta in the pages of the Bengali Journal the *Pravāsī* for the Bengali year 1927, and Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala (to whom we are grateful for having inaugurated Avestan and Old Persian studies in Calcutta during his sojourn amongst us as University Professor of Comparative Philology) also made a similar attempt in one of the *Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes* (1925). Dr. Sen began his Avesta and Old Persian studies under Prof. Taraporewala before 1926, and since taking his M.A. degree he has been employed in teaching Old Iranian himself to his students and enlarging his own knowledge of Iranian linguistics. He has naturally had to avail himself of the works of the first workers and later masters in the field—Spiegel, Kossowicz, King and Thompson, Tolman, Weissbach, Meillet, Kent and Hepzfeld, and Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, but he has approached the Old Persian texts from the point of view of a Sanskritist, and has given a full and complete demonstration of the entire Old Persian corpus as being in a speech which is the twin sister of Vedic Sanskrit. In addition to his valuable *chāyā*, he has conveniently given the results of his work in an Old Persian Glossary, in which the Old Persian words and forms are explained by their Vedic cognates, with English translations and references. His outline

of Old Persian Grammar coming at the end of the work is a succinct but exhaustive comparative grammar of Old Persian and Vedic, and very illuminating are his comparisons between Classical Sanskrit and Old Persian as well as Middle Indo-Aryan and Old Persian, showing how some Aryan (Indo-Iranian) forms attested from Old Persian have survived in Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit although ignored by Vedic. Dr. Sen's philological and other notes also are very valuable, and will be fully appreciated by all who are interested, particularly Sanskritists. It is not a study from the point of view of Middle Persian or New Persian, although equivalents in these wherever of interest for Indians have been given.

I have myself made what I may call my first serious study of the Old Persian inscriptions with Dr. Sen's *chāyā*, and I have benefited enormously from it. Apart from the specific linguistic and historical aspects of these inscriptions there are the literary and human aspects also. No one who reads these documents, particularly of Dārayavahush, "the great king," can remain unmoved by the simple and straightforward words of the great monarch whose family achieved a great world empire for the first time among Indo-European speakers, a world empire the guiding spirit of which was the soldierly virtues of truth and loyalty to the spirit of the Good. Dārayavahush's great moral fervour in his hatred of the Lie, and his conviction in the greatness and goodness and ever-watchfulness of a true and just Almighty who will support his people so long as they will go along unflinching in the narrow path of Truth—these form the basis of the pride he feels in the achievements of his nation. "Says Darius the king: You whoever may be king in future, from deceit guard yourself strongly." With him as a king who had to contend against rebels and impostors, the visible upholders of the Lie or the Deceit were those who rose against authority, and these people were to be punished. But he as a good soldier of Ahura-mazda had a notion of moral values as well: he exhorts his subjects in this strain: "Men! what is Ahura-mazda's commandment, may it not seem repugnant to you. Do not leave the straight (or true) path." This straight path—the *rāstā pathi*—is of course the threefold discipline of *Humata, Hūkhūta and Hvarshta*—of "Good Thought, Good Speech and Good Deed"—taught by Zarathushtra, the sage and prophet, the first great religious reformer who insisted upon man's making a free choice of the Good or the True in the eternal conflict between Good and Evil or between Truth and Falsehood. In a fragmentary inscription either of Dārayavahush or his son Khshayarsha the king expresses a wish that whatever his misdeed there is, that he may make good. In that remarkable inscription so full of moral aspirations and admonitions from Nakhsh-i-Rustam given by Dr. Sen in pp. 240-251 of his book, Darius declares as follows: "By the will of Ahura-mazda, such-like I am that to the right a friend I am, and to the wrong never a friend I am. Never to me is the desire that the poor for the sake of the rich should be done wrong to. Never to me is the desire that the rich for the sake of the poor should be done wrong to. What is right, that to me is the desire. To a deceiving man never a friend I am"; and further: "Never to me is the desire that a man (anybody) should harm. Never again is to me this desire that if anybody should harm he should never be arraigned." All this is of the nature of a declaration of the rights of man—a sort of rough code of Equal Justice for All, as conceived by a ruler whose religion had for its ideals Truth and Combating Evil.

Dārayavahush had also the pride of birth which belongs to an aristocratic race—he takes pride in his being "an Aryan, the son of an Aryan," and tells with an evident flow of pride and satisfaction how "the spear of a Persian man has gone afar; a Persian man even far away from Persia fought the enemy."

This pride in their Aryan origin is still a characteristic of the Persian people, and this has shown itself in recent years by the Persians formally announcing to the nations that they preferred their land to be known by its proud national name of *Iran*, "the land of the Aryans."

The rather primitive style of the Old Persian inscriptions has not been without its influence on India. The style of Asoka's announcements—"Thus says King Priyadarśin the beloved of the Gods" is obviously an echo of Dārayavahush's "Thus saith Dārayavahush the King." We have in these inscriptions, along with the prose Brāhmaṇas of the Indian Aryans and 5th century Greek prose, the oldest specimens of Indo-European prose (not considering the specimens of Hittite, which go back to the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.), and as such we can appreciate the linguistic importance of the Old Persian diction.

Dr. Sen's reconstruction of the Old Indo-Aryan equivalents of the Old Persian names gives us a world in which personal nomenclature is redolent of the Vedas. *Sakhāmanīṣa*, *Ṛjumanīṣa*, *Śatagu*, *Suvakṣṭra* (=*Khuvakhshtra*, Greek *Kuaksares*), *Vasumitra*, *Aśvagartya*, etc., etc., are quite proper for Sanskrit also: only these have not been found in some of the cases. In a book in which Old Persian, Sanskrit and other words have been throughout romanised it is inevitable that there would be some misprints, particularly in an Indian press not accustomed to this sort of work. But these are not of vital importance. I close my appreciation of Dr. Sen's labours by making some comments on some of the words and forms taken at random which struck me in the course of my reading.

P. 7, note on l. 14: *Pārsa*: probably from an earlier **Pāṛśva*, which as a tribal name may be connected with the Rigveda name *Parśu* (=a tribal name? *Parśu* occurs as the name of both a man and a woman) and the tribal or confederacy name *Paṛśu* (*Parśava*, *Pāṛśava*) as in Pāṇini V, 3, 117. The later Sanskrit *Pārasīka*, *Pārasya* are from the Old Persian word.

Pp. 12-13: *Bardiya*=Greek *Smerdis* (Herodotus), *Mardis* (Aeschylus). Is there a dialectal interchange of a root *bṛd* (Old Persian=Skt. *bṛh-*, Avestan *b^{ə}ṛ^{ə}z*) with *mṛd* behind the discrepancy between *Bardiya* and *Mardis*? *cf.* Skt. *bṛū*=Avestan *mrū*.

P. 23, note on ll. 63-64: O. Persian *āyadana*="sanctuary." The Sanskrit *āyatana* in its meaning of "temple" as in *devāyatana* may have been influenced by the Old Persian word.

P. 28, note on ll. 86-87: the Sanskrit *sādin* should not be compared with *bāri-* in Old Persian *asabāri-*, *ušabāri-*: *sādin* is in all likelihood from an Austric loanword in Indo-Aryan (*cf.* Santali *sad-om*="horse," whence Skt. *sādin*="horseman"), whereas *bāri-* is from an Aryan root. Can *uša* be=Sanskrit *ukṣan* "ox"?

P. 30, note on l. 92: Old Persian *vṛdanam* "town, village" may be equated with Sanskrit *vardhana* as in *P(a)uṇḍra-vardhana*, *Go-vardhana*, the Sanskrit word showing at least semantic influence from Old Persian.

P. 36, note on l. 21: *gaubataiy*: "calls (onself)": Dr. Sen gives as an equivalent a hypothetical Old Indo-Aryan* *gobhate* (p. 35). Is the name *Gobhila* from the same root?

P. 91, note on l. 8: Old Persian *naibā* "beautiful" has been very properly suggested by Dr. Sen as being cognate with the otherwise unexplained Sanskrit word *nibha-* occurring in compounds.

P. 126, note on l. 43. Old Persian *piruš* "ivory." From the Semitic, but originally a Dravidian word: *cf.* Old Tamil *peḍi* "female elephant."

P. 235, *mana(h)uviš* "revengeful"=Skt. **manasvī* (?). We may compare late Skt. *māna* "sulks, lovers' anger," Greek *mênis* "anger," Skt. *manyuḥ* from the same root.

P. 259: Old Persian Grammar, last para. Indo-Iranian *z'(h)* rather than *j(h)*. Also at other places in the grammar (pp. 263, 264).

The interest of the Old Persian inscriptions is manifold but we trust the present work will serve what has been Dr. Sen's chief aim in preparing it, namely, to stimulate interest in Iranian studies among our Sanskritists, an interest which was sought to be created exactly 20 years ago when Dr. Taraporewala brought out his *Avesta Selections* under the auspices of the University of Calcutta.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Peshwa Madhava Rao I.—By A. C. Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S. Published by A. Mukherjee and Brothers, Calcutta.

The Maratha Empire was reeling under a staggering blow when Madhava Rao I, still in his teens, was called upon to guide its destiny. The task was far from easy. The flower of the Maratha chivalry lay dead in the fatal field of Panipath, the state coffers were utterly exhausted, Nizam Ali and Hyder Ali were anxious to deal their hated foe a *coup de grace* and the young Peshwa could not even rely on his feudatories in his struggle against the common enemy. Janoji Bhonsla was unable to rise to the occasion and tried to exploit the Peshwa's difficulties to further the interests of his own family. The infamous Raghoba was ever prepared to barter the future of the empire in lieu of nominal headship of the state and the end of the Maratha supremacy appeared to be all but imminent. The survival of that power for another forty years was entirely due to the prowess and statesmanship of the young Peshwa. In his case it can be truly said that a school-boy saved an empire and secured for it a new lease of life. The story has been very ably told by Professor Anil Chandra Banerjee and he is to be congratulated on the excellent monograph that he has contributed to the historical literature of India. He had examined all the available sources with critical circumspection and his work bears all the marks of mature judgment and sound scholarship. The only observation that I should like to make is that the Selections from the Peshwa's *Daftars* should not be used without careful scrutiny—the series is marred by inaccuracies of all sorts.

S. N. SEN

Ourselves

[I. New Affiliations.—II. New Fellows.—III. Chinese Medical Students of the Calcutta All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health.—IV. Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts.—V. New Works in Preparation in the Department of Sanskrit.]

I. New Affiliations

The Victoria Institution, Calcutta, has been affiliated to this University in Bengali to the B.A. (Honours) standard with effect from the commencement of the Session 1943-44, with permission to present candidates at the examination in the subject in 1945, and not earlier.

The Ananda Chandra College, Jalpaiguri, has been affiliated to this University with effect from the Session 1943-44, in the following subjects with permission to present candidates in these subjects in 1945:—

(1) Bengali (Second Language), Commercial Geography, and Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-Keeping, up to the I.A. standard.

(2) English, Bengali (Vernacular), and Mathematics, up to the I.Sc. standard.

(3) Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, up to I.A. and I.Sc. standards.

The Chaumohani College, in the District of Noakhali, has been affiliated to this University, with effect from the Session 1943-44, with permission to present candidates for the examination in 1945 in the following subjects:—

English, Bengali (Vernacular), History, Sanskrit, Mathematics, Elements of Civics and Economics, Logic, Arabic, Persian, Commercial Geography, and Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-Keeping, up to the I.A. standard.

The Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta, has been affiliated to this University in Arabic, Persian, History, and Political Economy and Political Philosophy, to the B.A. (Honours) standard, in Geography to the B.A. (Pass) standard, and in Commercial Geography to the I.A. standard, with permission to present candidates at the examinations in these subjects in 1945 and not earlier.

The Krishnagar College, Krishnagar, has been affiliated to this University in Political Economy and Political Philosophy, to the B.A. (Honours) standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects in 1945 and not earlier.

II. New Fellows

Mr. J. W. Chippendale, Rev. Allan Cameron and Prof. Surendranath Das Gupta, whose terms of Fellowship expired, have been renominated Ordinary Fellows of the University by His Excellency the Chancellor.

* * *

III. Chinese Medical Students of the Calcutta All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health

The following Chinese doctors will attend the course on Public Health at the All-India Institute under scholarship grants from the Government of India:—

(1) Wung Wen Yuen, M.D., Peiyang Medical College, 1930.
(2) H. S. Yuen, M.D., Peiping Union Medical College, 1936.
(3) S. C. Chi, M.B., Moukden Medical College, 1923.
(4) Y. Wei, M.D., National Medical College of Shanghai, 1936.
(5) W. S. Keh, M.D., Aurora College (French Catholic), Shanghai, 1933.

The University has sanctioned their admission and exempted them from payment of Migration and Registration fees.

* * *

IV. Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts

Mr. Ordhenducoomar Ganguly, M.A., has been appointed Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts for the period from 1st August, 1943, to 31st May, 1944, in place of Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy who has been granted leave for one year.

* * *

V. New Works in Preparation in the Department of Sanskrit

We understand that two important works have been undertaken by the Department of Sanskrit of this University.

The first of them is *The Word Concordance of Kālidāsa*. It has been felt that for a proper study of Kālidāsa the necessity for such a work has been keenly felt for long and we are glad to learn that the Sanskrit Department has undertaken its preparation. We have been informed that a concordance of all the words, Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, with all possible

variants will be prepared. To this end words are being collected along with the sentences in which they appear from the best editions of the works.

The second book in preparation is entitled *Darśanakośa*. A dictionary of Indian philosophical terms has been regarded as necessary in scholarly circles. It is good on this account that the Sanskrit Department with the assistance and co-operation of the Departments of Pali and Philosophy has undertaken its preparation. It will be produced in the first instance in Sanskrit but an English translation may be prepared later. The book will be in seven volumes, the first six of which will be devoted to (*i*) Bauddha, (*ii*) Jaina, (*iii*) Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, (*iv*) Mīmāṃsā, (*v*) Sāṅkhya-Yoga, (*vi*) Vedānta. The seventh volume will cover the remaining minor systems of Indian Philosophy. When all these volumes are complete, their materials will be summarised in another volume. The work will be published part by part and at present the volume on Sāṅkhya-Yoga has been taken in hand. It is not proposed to limit the contributors to this University. Any scholar of repute in or outside this University will be welcome in helping the Department in the preparation of this work.

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